The Social Contract

Vol. XII, No. 3 Spring 2002

Media Coverage of Immigration

Where's the balance?

Highlights

Report of the "Media Standards Project" by Joe Guzzardi, with additional commentary by Brenda Walker, John Leo, and William McGowan.

Edwin Rubenstein on Free Trade and Security.

Richard Lamm on Immigration and Terrorism.

Juan Mann monitors court cases involving immigrants.

Frank Kavanaugh argues for more secure visas.

Don Collins on the population "bomb" between India and Pakistan.

Lionel Tiger on Osama bin Laden's 'scary young men."

Lindsey Grant on the "Age of Migrations."

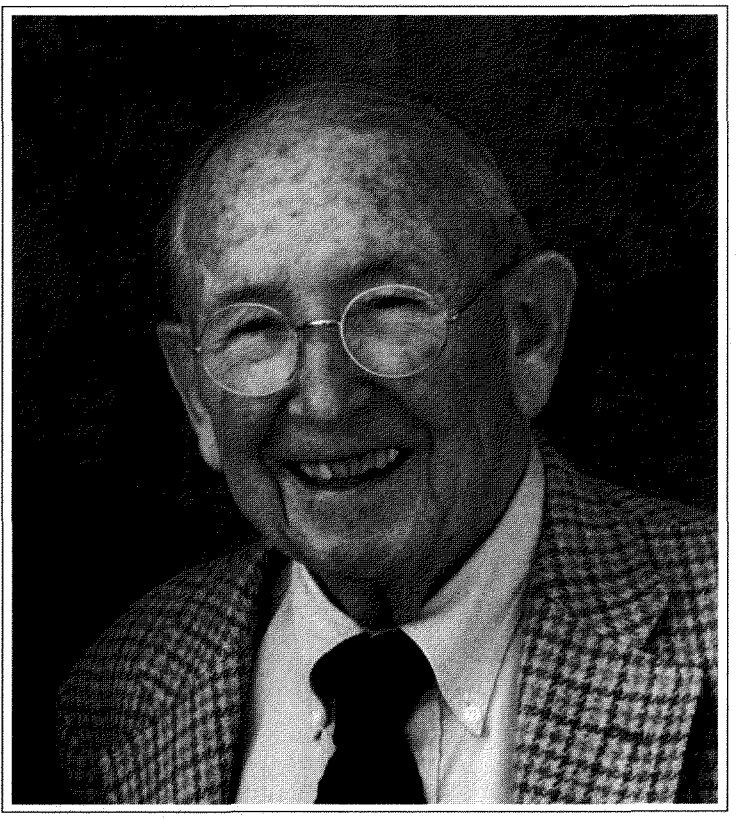
Larry Auster on the cultural effects of mass immigration.

Katharine Betts on national identity in Australia.

John Attarian reviews Pat Buchanan's book, *The Death of the West.*

Wayne Lutton reviews a new video on *Reconquista.*

Joseph Fallon analyzes a paper by Stephen Steinlight on Jews and immigration.



Neuroscientist Paul D. MacLean

Knowing that we have what Paul MacLean calls a "triune brain" may help us solve some of mankind's most pressing problems. ***See page 183***

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About THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal examines trends, events, and ideas that have an impact on America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?*
- *Immigration issues. In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted? and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?*
- *Language, assimilation, culture, and national unity considerations. What are shared values necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?*
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities. Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?*
- *Other nations' efforts at creating and guarding their own social contracts. What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?*

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles, essays and book reviews that vary greatly in outlook and philosophy. We encourage a wide spectrum of opinion as we publish contributions from many vantage points. The opinions expressed by the writers are not necessarily those of the editors or publisher.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is published four times a year by The Social Contract Press, 445 East Mitchell Street, Petoskey, MI 49770. Phone (231) 347-1171, Fax (231) 347-1185. Send mail correspondence and address corrections to address above, or e-mail to info@thesocialcontract.com. See our World Wide Web page at www.thesocialcontract.com. To order subscriptions or books call toll free: 1-800-352-4843. Third class postage paid at Petoskey, Michigan. *Copyright © 2002.*

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT
is published quarterly.
© 2002 by The Social Contract Press
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E-mail: info@thesocialcontract.com
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Archives:
www.thesocialcontract.com/archives

Third Class postage is paid at Petoskey, MI.

A Note from the Editor

The Media Need to Be More Responsible for Balanced Coverage

In this issue of *The Social Contract* we are pleased to publish an original research report highlighting bias in the mainstream media on the issues we are most concerned with. Joe Guzzardi, a teacher of English as a second language, and long-time newspaper columnist, confirms that when dealing with complex stories involving immigration-related topics, too many of the writers and editors working at major news outlets promote a narrow orthodoxy that restricts the dissemination of information and debate. He gives many pertinent examples of the one-sided reporting of events that have an immigrant component.

In addition to Mr. Guzzardi's study, we include excerpts from a chapter on how immigration has been covered in major media. The material is from a new book, *Coloring the News: How Crusading for Diversity Has Corrupted American Journalism,* by William McGowan. Mr. McGowan's book has received some highly favorable reviews, but his discussion of immigration-related issues has largely been overlooked. It is thanks to our reviewer, Brenda Walker, that this book came to our attention.

Also, see the boxed information on page 182. T. Michael Maher of the University of Southwestern Louisiana has conducted a study on "How and Why Journalists Avoid the Population-Environment Connection."

* * *

Given the seriousness of many of the issues we focus on – overpopulation, natural resource depletion, and the challenges presented by multiculturalism – we need clear thinking to come up with viable solutions. Toward this goal, we welcome essays about and by Paul D. MacLean. Dr. MacLean is a scientist and philosopher well-known within professional circles. His concept of the "triune brain" has been a topic for discussion among scientists and educators. Here, Dr. Gustav Uhlich introduces Dr. MacLean's concepts to our readers and suggests how they can be applied to our personal and public lives.

* * *

The internet remains the best source for news and opinion on many of our concerns. We have added a few new sites to our "Bulletin Board" page: Limits to Growth, edited by Brenda Walker (www.LimitsToGrowth.org) and Alternatives to Growth Oregon, which includes information and debating points that can be used across the country (www.agoregon.org).

WAYNE LUTTON, PH.D.
Editor

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Letter to the Editor

EDITOR:

Carl Horowitz's article in your latest issue ("Immigration and the 'Culture War'" — *The Social Contract*, Vol. XII, No. 2, Winter 2001-2002) articulated a welcome rebuttal to those who romanticize Third World immigrants. He might have used additional sources to develop and enrich his case. Further, why should millions of such "high moral character" be attracted by an alienated and decadent society? Or have flagrantly violated our immigration laws?

Similarly, rather than simply deny the existence of an open borders decontructionist "fifth column," Horowitz could have strengthened his analysis by considering the relationship between immigration-driven demographic change and the New Left originated agenda for a "brown revolution." Some useful sources on this linkage include Brent Nelson's *American Balkanized*, Alvin Schmidt's *The Menace of Multiculturalism*, Joseph Fallon's *Deconstructing America*, Richard Ellis's *The Dark Side of the Left*, and Pat Buchanan's *The Death of the West*.

After exposing himself to such literature, Professor Horowitz would better grasp why what Sam Francis calls the "Treason Party" is very much alive and regards open borders as essential to the final transformation of fast-eroding traditional American institutions.

MILES WOLPIN
Potsdam, New York

Letter to Other Editors

Revolving door between refugee agencies and government

Refugee advocate Lavinia Limon says she is "very afraid this country will not have the infrastructure in place to respond to future refugee emergencies in the world" (Security leaves refugees stranded," January 31).

I am afraid she is protesting too much. Refugee agencies have steadfastly refused to use their own resources to maintain the U. S. refugee resettlement "infrastructure." In fact, a program known as the Private Sector Initiative allowed sponsoring agencies to bring over refugees if the agencies were willing to cover costs of resettlement and support. It was discontinued for lack of use in the mid-1990s. Today, the agencies are opposed to diverting federal refugee dollars to overseas refugee assistance for fear it will mean fewer dollars for them.

One result is that we have a heavily welfare-dependent refugee-resettlement program. For example, 19 percent of refugee households have one or more household members receiving a Supplemental Security Income (SSI) check. This is a lifetime cash entitlement granted upon arrival, and at a time when Americans are facing the end of benefits in other, time-limited welfare programs.

The growth of non-governmental refugee organizations, which are little more than government contractors, is fueled by the entry of refugees into the ranks of salaried service providers and lobbyists for future generations of refugees.

Though your story quoted Miss Limon, who is the director of a non-profit refugee agency, it neglected to mention that she formerly was the director of the federal Department of Health and Human Services Office of Refugee Resettlement.

Certainly no other government-dependent industry would have gotten such light treatment by the news media for what obviously is a revolving door between the industry and the federal government.

– Letter to the *Washington Times*
by Don Barnett of Brentwood, Tennessee
February 7, 2002

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A Note from the Publisher

The Social Contract Loses Two Good Friends

by John H. Tanton

Hugh Davis Graham, a member of the advisory board of *The Social Contract* since its inception twelve years ago and a frequent participant in the annual Social Contract Press Writers Workshops, died of cancer at Santa Barbara, California on March 26, 2002. He was 65.

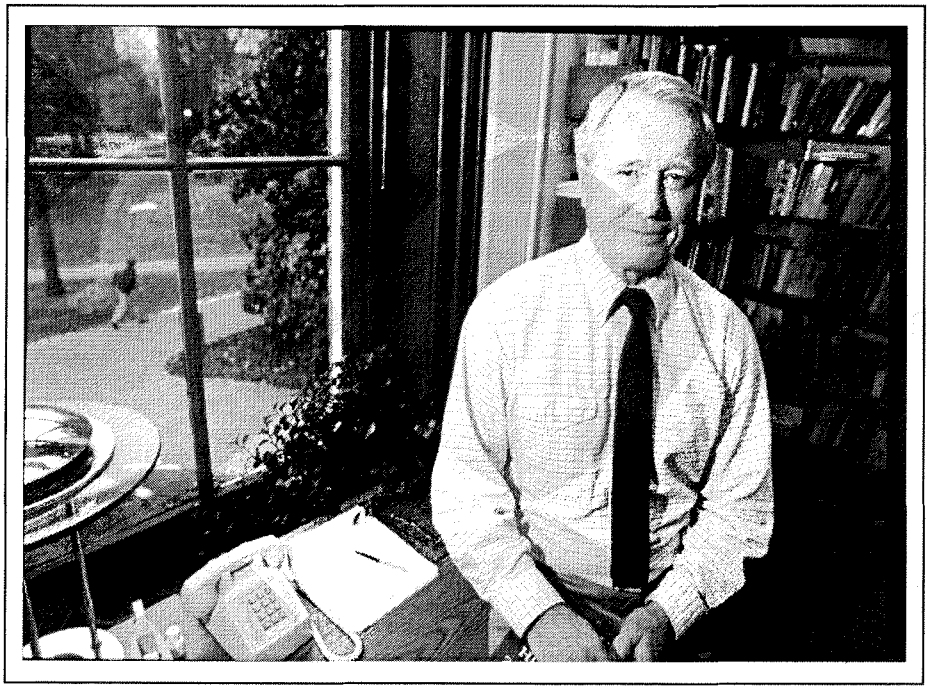
An outstanding scholar of American history, Hugh's newest book, *Collision Course: The Strange Convergence of Affirmative Action and Immigration Policy in America*, has just been released by Oxford University Press. Most recently he was involved in organizing a conference of scholars on the Reagan presidency at the University of California-Santa Barbara. He also was active with other historians in pursuing a law suit against the Bush administration which has curtailed access to previous presidential and vice-presidential papers.

Born in Little Rock, Arkansas, Dr. Graham graduated magna cum laud from Yale in 1958. He served two years as a lieutenant in the Marine Corps artillery. His Ph.D. in history was earned at Stanford in 1964. Teaching positions followed at Stanford, Bay Area, Foothill College, and San Jose State. He took leave to act as a training officer with the Peace Corps and later went to Washington to become the Peace Corp's public affairs western director.

Hugh moved to Baltimore, Maryland, in 1967, to be assistant director of the Institute of Southern History at the Johns Hopkins University and to teach there, and later joined the faculty at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, where he also served as Dean of Social Sciences and the Graduate Dean of Graduate Studies and Research. In 1991, he accepted the Holland M. McTyeire Chair at the history department at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee. He was chair of the department from 1994 to 1996. Hugh was a gifted lecturer and caring teacher as evidenced by the numerous teaching awards he received from Johns Hopkins and Vanderbilt.

In addition to teaching and working in university administration, Hugh was a formidable scholar. In all he wrote eight books, including *The Civil Rights Era* (1990), which was nominated by the Oxford University Press for the Pulitzer Prize in 1991, *Civil Rights and the Presidency* (1992), and *The Uncertain Triumph*. He edited seven scholarly books, wrote chapters for many anthologies, and published regularly in history and political science journals.

A consummate southern gentleman, Hugh will be sorely missed by his many friends in the immigration reform movement where his calm reasonableness, irresistible logic, and scholarly contributions endeared him to all.



Hugh Davis Graham, Ph.D., in his Vanderbilt office.
Photo courtesy Vanderbilt University.

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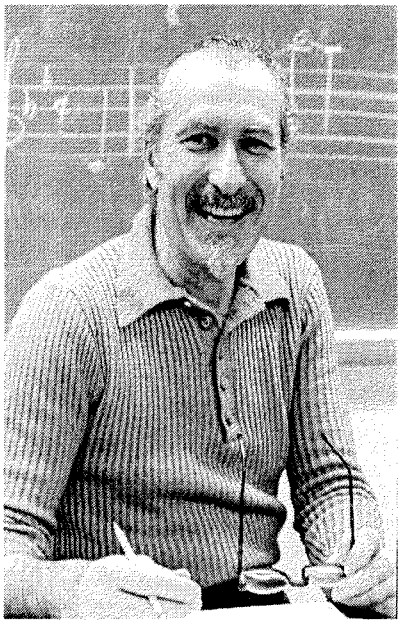
Another familiar figure among contributors to *The Social Contract*, and to the movement to bring together concerns about the environment, population growth, and the levels of immigration, was Professor Edward Levy of New York City. He died of complications from pancreatic cancer on April 2 at the age of 72.



Professor Edward Levy, Ed.D.
Photo courtesy Yeshiva University

Like many others, Ed came into the immigration reform movement from a strong background in environmental activism. A composer and professor of music at Yeshiva University in Manhattan, Ed was a member of the board of directors of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), and founder of the Tri-State Immigration Moratorium, Inc. (TRIM), a New York reform group advocating lower levels of legal immigration and stricter controls on illegal immigration. Ed was always a welcome addition to the discussions at each year's Writers Workshop sponsored by The Social Contract Press.

Dr. Levy was born in Brooklyn in 1929 and graduated from City College in 1957. He received his M.F.A. in music composition from Princeton in 1960 and his Doctor of Education from Columbia University Teachers College in 1967 at which time he joined the music faculty at Yeshiva University. He headed the music department at the time of his death.

In a press release about Dr. Levy, Noyes Bartholomew writes: "In his own musical works, Dr. Levy drew inspiration from two rich sources: bebop jazz and modernist twelve-tone music. A high school clarinetist and saxophonist, he was fifteen at the end of the war. Soon, with the lifting of the wartime recording ban, he became entranced by the challenging new arrangements recorded by the Sauter-Finegan band. Exploration of this trend led him to the discovery of bebop in the small jazz clubs along 52nd Street in Manhattan. Later in his teens, he learned of similar steps toward dissonance and freedom of form in classical music. Dr. Levy's own music throughout his long career projects his efforts to integrate, with varying balances, these seemingly diverse idioms, idioms that he understood as reflections of each other."

In the context of his social activism, Ed spoke frequently about the need for religious leaders of all faiths to advance the interrelated causes of environmental protection, immigration reform, and population control. His challenging essay for the Spring 1995 issue of *The Social Contract* on the influence and teachings of religious communities described Jewish attitudes toward these matters. Most recently he had developed a college course at Yeshiva University's Stern College for Women on the preservation of the environment which was well-received.

Sharon Barnes, a long-time friend and chair of FAIR's board of directors said, "Ed Levy will always have a special place on our hearts. His superior intelligence, original way of thinking and explaining things, and boundless energy will be missed."

We at *The Social Contract* echo those sentiments and add that we will miss Ed's marvelous good humor and his compassionate leadership. ■

"Official statements of Jewish organizations, like those of other ethnic lobbies, favor immigration, dubbing it the "compassionate" choice. The people I [interviewed] are less rigid, the problem being lack of awareness and having another set of priorities. Recommending greatly decreased immigration is position reached by a fair-minded people only after much deliberation, deep thought, and the gathering of extensive information, for only then is immigration seen as, in the long run, a pernicious solution. The questions then are: how long will that education take; and will it have effect in time?"

– Professor Edward Levy in
"Jewish Attiudes Toward Immigration"
The Social Contract
Vol. V, No. 3, Spring 1995

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The Bulletin Board

Immigration on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal now has a research site by which all the articles published in previous issues of the journal are available at <www.thesocialcontract.com>.

Below are some additional sites that readers may find of interest. Listing them here does not imply that THE SOCIAL CONTRACT endorses the material on any specific site.

- The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR): www.fairus.org.
- Immigration by the Numbers: www.numbersusa.com.
- ProEnglish: www.proenglish.org.
- A new voice for population/environment issues: www.sprawlcity.org.
- Center for Immigration Studies: www.cis.org.
- *Limits to Growth* edited by Brenda Walker: www.LimitsToGrowth.org.
- Alternatives to Growth Oregon at: www.agoregon.org.
- Affirmative Action for Immigrants: www.pw2.netcom.com/~jimrobb.
- Comments from Peter Brimelow, Joseph Fallon, and others: www.vdare.com.
- News and commentary on ethnic and other conflicts worldwide: www.antiwar.com.
- Carrying Capacity Network: www.carryingcapacity.org.
- Negative Population Growth: www.npg.org.
- California Coalition for Immigration Reform: www.ccir.net.
- Philip Martin's *Migration News:* www.migration.ucdavis.edu.
- Professor Norman Matloff: www.heather.cs.ucdavis.edu /pub/Immigration/Index.html.
- Midwest Coalition for Responsible Immigration: www.enteract.com/~mcri97.
- Sierrans for U.S. Population Stabilization: www.susps.org.
- *People and Place* is published in Australia by the Centre for Population and Urban Research: www.elecpress.monash.edu.au/pnp.
- Canadian Immigration Reform Committee: www.canadafirst.net.
- Voices of Citizens Together: www.americanpatrol.com.
- Council of Conservative Citizens: www.cofcc.org.
- Columnist Samuel Francis: www.samfrancis.net.
- The Biocentric Institute: www.iapm.org/biocenter.html.
- Stalking the Wild Taboo: www.lrainc.com/swtaboo/.
- ProjectUSA: www.projectusa.org.
- The European Forum for Migration Studies: www.uni-bamberg.de/~ba6ef3/home.html.
- Floridians for a Sustainable Population: www.flsuspop.org.
- Population and Sustainability: www.ecofuture.org/populat.html.
- American Renaissance: www.amren.com.
- *Mankind Quarterly:* www.mankind.org.
- Federal Publications (developments in immigration law): http://www.fedpub.com/fedpub/immigrat.htm.

E-mail addresses for pertinent organizations:

- Center for Immigration Studies (CIS): center@cis.org.
- Negative Population Growth: npg@npg.org.
- Carrying Capacity Network: ccn@igc.apc.org.
- Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS): caps@cap-s.org.

And from the perspective of the opposition and their stand for open borders:

- The American Immigration Lawyers Association: www.aila.org.

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Report from the Media Standards Project

by Joe Guzzardi

In June 2000, I was asked by NumbersUSA.com to begin an ongoing project of tracking newspaper stories about immigration and immigration-related issues. This study, called the Media Standards Project, evaluates immigration stories for their level of professionalism. The objective of the project is, when appropriate, to help reporters and editors serve their readers more effectively by writing the most professional stories possible.

NumbersUSA.com is not a disinterested party. The goals of this Washington, D.C.-based public policy group are to carry out the recommendations of the Barbara Jordan Commission on Immigration Reform as well as those of President Clinton's Council on Sustainable Development for Economic Justice.

NumbersUSA.com also advocates returning legal immigration to its traditional level of 200,000 annually.

The opinions of any one organization or of any individual did not influence the findings of this project. The Media Standards Project is about journalistic professionalism and is not about immigration.

Defining Professionalism

To define journalistic professionalism, the Media Standards Project uses guidelines developed by journalists themselves. Sources include the following:

- The Code of Ethics of the Society for Professional Journalists (www.spj.org). The Code calls for journalists to "support open exchange of views, even views you find repugnant," to "test the accuracy from all sources and avoid inadvertent error," and to "avoid advocacy."
- The American Society for Newspaper Editors (www.asne.org) whose statement of principles includes Article I: "The primary purpose of gathering and distributing news and opinion is to serve the general welfare by informing the people and enabling then to make judgments on the issues of the time," and Article IV: "Every effort must be made to assure that the news content is accurate, free from bias and in context, and that all sides are presented fairly."
- The Committee for Concerned Journalists (www.journalism.org), of which over 1,200 of America's most prominent journalists are members. In the CCJ's "Statement of Concerns" is Item 4: "While editorialists and commentators are not neutral, the source of their credibility is still their accuracy, intellectual fairness, and ability to inform – not their devotion to a certain group or outcome. In our independence, however, we must avoid any tendency to stray into arrogance, elitism, isolation or nihilism."
- *News Reporting and Writing*, the basic journalism textbook used at the Columbia School of Journalism and other prominent universities. Author Marvin Mencher reminds would-be journalists that when covering important political issues, the reporter should not act as a "stenographer."
- A *Washington Post* column by former *Post* ombudsman E. R. Shipp, "In Pursuit of Fairness." Shipp states, "No story is fair if it omits facts of major importance or significance. No story is fair if it includes essentially irrelevant information at the expense of significant facts. No story is fair if

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Joe Guzzardi *is a long-time newspaper columnist living in Lodi, California, who teaches English to adult immigrants through the public education system. He also is the director of the Media Standards Project of NumbersUSA.com, which is a Washington-based public interest group advocating tighter controls on immigration.*

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it consciously or unconsciously misleads or even deceives the reader." Fair stories, concludes Shipp, are complete, honest, and relevant.

- Katharine Graham's *Personal History*. In her autobiography, Ms. Graham recalls the lessons she learned about journalism at her father's knee including the mandate to "tell ALL the truth. (Emphasis placed by Ms. Graham.)

From these sources evolved a definition of what a fair and balanced story should be.

Two other important considerations were made in each of the stories read. First, no two people read the same story through the same eyes. Allowances were made for the different interpretations of the same text. Second, immigration is a complex and highly emotional topic. Accordingly, reporters were given some slack regarding the fairness of their stories.

Why Stories About Immigration?

Why is it so important that reporters writing about immigration should be so diligent regarding their subject matter?

Many argue that the renewal of mass immigration at the end of this past century is the biggest domestic story of the nation. Census 2000 confirms that the demographic shift caused by immigration has created huge changes in America. Occupations, industries, wage structures, public schools, graduate schools, and urban development all have been impacted by immigration.

But the American news media have paid next to no attention to immigration's role. Newspapers have allowed prevailing assumptions to become truisms. Among them are:

- population growth is inevitable,
- Americans refuse to perform low-paying jobs,
- American children are not interested in math and science, and
- we must go overseas to find our future nurses, technicians, and software workers.

Too few stories we examined went on to ask the most important question in journalism: why? If reporters had asked why our population was growing at unsustainable rates, why Americans could no longer do jobs they once did with pride, why software workers were imported instead of being trained out of local high schools, their stories would have had an entirely different perspective.

All too frequently reporters failed to ask the hard questions and were willing to accept the easy answers. Reporters have failed to see (or possibly refused to see) the link between immigration numbers and the social issue on which they were reporting.

At the Beginning

Since mid-summer, immigration has been a dominant news story. The White House announcement in July that President Bush was weighing plans to grant amnesty to more than three million Mexicans living illegally in the United States marked the first in a series of events that kept immigration on the front pages.

In July, August, and through Mexican President Vicente Fox's state visit to Washington, D.C. in September, story after story asked questions about a variety of immigration issues. Should the U.S. grant amnesty to Mexican illegals? If amnesty is given to Mexicans, should it also be extended to illegal immigrants from other countries? Does the U.S. need a guest worker program? Is the U.S. dependent on cheap overseas labor?

"The tough subject matter raised in these stories requires reporters to be at their professional best..."

Other questions were addressed: Should illegal immigrants be given driver's licenses? Are high school graduates illegally in the United States entitled to in-state tuition fees at their area colleges?

The tough subject matter raised in these stories requires reporters to be at their professional best, and had the reporters followed the guidelines established by their profession, they would have been able to produce solid stories. Unfortunately, despite the high-stakes topics, many reporters have done an indifferent job at writing professional, fair, and balanced stories about immigration.

In his August 29 *Denver Post* column, "Immigration: the Untold Story," Al Knight notes, "For years, press outlets have been doing a mediocre job reporting on stories that touch either on legal

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immigration rates or the collective impact of illegal immigration." Concludes Knight, "This record of failure is now so clear as to be beyond dispute. The patterns of commission and omission are very nearly constant."

Out of nearly two-thousand stories about immigration which I read, nearly all lacked balance. Three mandates of the Code of Ethics were consistently disregarded, namely:

Support the open exchange of views, even views you find repugnant,

Test the accuracy of information from all sources and avoid inadvertent error, and

Distinguish between advocacy and news reporting.

Factual errors were too frequent. Often the reporter made the error, but just as often the errors were contained in quotes that were not checked for accuracy. Despite claims and counter claims made by opposing sides in a debate, a reporter trying to convey factual information can usually find it.

Balance was an even larger problem. Only a very few stories could be considered balanced. Nearly all were unbalanced to the same side of the debate — the side promoting higher levels of immigration.

My measure for balance was simple: was there a relatively equal amount of space or number of proponents devoted to each side? In most stories the count was not even close. Many accounts failed to mention any single opposing argument or viewpoint.

Front Page Stories

Front page stories, those that must be "signed off" on by three or four editors, routinely told only the pro-immigration side of the story. Here are some examples.

"Mexican Guest Workers: A Project Worth a Try?"
by Ginger Rogers in the *New York Times*
April 3, 2001

SYNOPSIS: Is now the time for a guest worker program?

COMMENT: According to those cited, the answer is "Yes." The cited are: Mexican President Vicente Fox, the Migrant Farmworker Justice Project, the National Council of Agricultural Employees, U.S. Representatives Howard Berman and Gordon Smith and U.S. Senator Phil Gramm (R-TX). No opposing opinion is presented.

"Border Pact to Target Safety"
by James Smith and Ken Ellingwood
Los Angeles Times, June 23, 2001

SYNOPSIS: Mexican and American officials announce a program to improve safety for Mexicans crossing illegally into the U.S.

COMMENT: This is arguably the most remarkable story in the history of journalism. In the first paragraph, reporters Smith and Ellingwood write that the U.S. government is in negotiations with the government of Mexico to make it easier for Mexicans to break the laws of the United States. While a reader might expect an analysis of this shocking development, that is not what follows. Only those who think it a good idea for the U.S. to assist illegal border crossers are quoted. Those in favor include Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castaneda, Mexican Deputy Foreign Minister Enrique Berruga, San Diego Border Patrol Chief William Veal, Mexican migration official Carlos Feliz, John Hunter from the Roman Catholic Church, Rev. Robin Hoover, and Border Patrol agent Manuel Figeroa. The total on the pro side is seven. The number who favor upholding existing law or finding other solutions is zero.

"USA Just Wouldn't Work without Immigrant Labor"
by Laura Parker
USA Today, July 22, 2001

SYNOPSIS: The U.S. economy is dependent on immigrant labor and would not function at the same level of efficiency without it.

COMMENT: The story quotes five sources that agree with the headline. Each source profits from increased levels of immigration. The sources are an immigration lawyer, the past-president of the American Immigration Lawyers Association, a lobbyist for the American Hotel and Lodging Association, a representative from the business-supported Essential Workers Coalition, and the director of the Western Tennessee Associated Builders and Contractors. Not one opposing argument is cited, even though many reputable research organizations and scholars have a different point of view.

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Jobs Americans Won't Do

In stories about immigrant labor's role in the U.S. economy, one phrase is included over and over again: immigrants do jobs "Americans won't do" or jobs that "Americans can't do."

Repoorters never asked makers of these comments to verify their claims. Nor do the stories let the reader know that many other experts have done research that leads to different conclusions.

Returning to the *USA Today* article, "USA just wouldn't work without immigrant labor," reporter Laura Parker wrote:

> *Most of the nation's 17.7 million immigrant workers toil, like those who preceded them, in jobs that native-born Americans refuse to do. They work as meatpackers, hotel maids, hamburger flippers, waiters gardeners, seamstresses, fruit and vegetable pickers, and construction hands.*

But reporter Parker's claim does not stand up to historical analysis. Jobs in meatpacking, poultry processing, textile manufacturing, and construction were once coveted, decent-paying, union jobs in this country. Years ago, however, employers broke the unions with specific intent to hire illegal immigrants to replace union workers. The immigrants were willing to work for substantially lower wages. Any analysis of labor practices in those industries is incomplete without a paragraph on union busting.

And any statement that Americans won't do those jobs must be followed by a section in the story that asks why jobs once held by Americans are no longer attractive to the native-born workforce. Ten million adult Americans do not have high school diplomas. Many, if not most, of those would be candidates for the lower-paying jobs. Why don't they hold them? Reporters would not have to look too far to find the answer: employers prefer cheap immigrant labor. For the last several months, the book *Fast Food Nation* has been on the *New York Times*' best seller list. Investigative reporter Eric Schlosser's book, widely and favorably reviewed, has an extensive section on the shameful labor practices in the food industry. Asked in a December 2000 interview about labor practices at meatpacking plants, Schlosser commented,

> *Until the late 1970s, meatpacking was one of the highest-paid industrial jobs in the United States. And then the Reagan and Bush administrations stood aside and allowed the meatpacking industry to bust the unions, to hire strikebreakers and scabs, not only to hire illegal immigrants for these jobs but to transport them here from Mexico in company buses. Now meatpacking is one of the nation's lowest-paying industrial jobs, as well as the most dangerous.*

As for the other professions Parker lists – hotel employee, construction hand, textile manufacturer– the same answer applies: employers prefer cheap illegal immigrant workers.

Often reporters have compounded errors by including two fallacies in one story.

"Immigrants redefine an Iowa city"
by Tatsha Robertson, *Boston Globe*
June 18, 2001

SYNOPSIS: The tiny town of Postville, Iowa, needs immigrants to survive. According to state officials, Iowa is doomed if it cannot attract workers. As a bonus, of course, these immigrants are willing to do "jobs Americans won't do."

COMMENT: Why the *Boston Globe* would publish a story about an Iowa town of 2,200 residents located nearly 1,500 miles away from New England is not clear. But assuming that Boston readers might have an interest in Postville, reporter Robertson should have followed through with a more diligent story. Her first clue that things are amiss should have come in the discovery that slaughterhouse wages are $6 an hour. Why are the wages so low? Who performed those jobs a decade ago? Robertson reports as fact that states like Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska must recruit immigrants to replace dwindling population. In truth, this claim is mere theory. On June 11, one week before the *Globe* published Robertson's story, Professor Peter Fisher of the University of Iowa released "The State of Working Iowa."According to Professor Fisher, recruiting immigrants is not necessary and may actually be harmful to the local worker. In his findings, Fisher wrote, "We want to avoid ... attracting immigrants that are going to drive down wages at the low end of the spectrum," The report is online at www.iowapolicy

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project.org/Working-Iowa/ default.htm.

Education Stories – Half Truths and Omissions

Nowhere in America is the impact of immigration more visible than in our public schools. No matter what city you live in, your school district is likely overwhelmed. Student test scores are low, many pupils are not reading at grade level, infrastructure is falling apart, and the teacher shortage is acute. Since education is of paramount importance to everyone, reporters should be thorough in their fact-finding and as complete as possible in their stories. Unfortunately, I rarely found balance and fairness in a story about education.

"Nowhere in America is the impact of immigration more visible than in our public schools."

First, the impact of immigrant student enrollment on K-12 schools in America is rarely emphasized. The surging number of foreign students was assigned a minor role, if any role at all, in most education stories.

"U.S. school enrollment grows to nearly 49 million students"
Associated Press, *Houston Chronicle*
March 23, 2001

SYNOPSIS: School enrollment in 1999 hit a record at 49 million. The record won't last long, however. The Education Department predicts that total elementary and secondary school enrollment will rise to 53.2 million this fall and peak in 2005 at 53.5 million.

COMMENT: In the opening paragraph, the reporter notes that according to the Census Bureau the children of baby boomers are entering schools in record numbers. Actually, the report is titled "Children of 'Baby Boomers' and Immigrants Boost School Enrollment to Equal All-Time High, Census Bureau Reports." Even though the reporter omitted the reference to immigration in his opening paragraph, the story makes it clear that one of the major hurdles for school administrators is coping with the increases in immigration. In the Los Angeles Unified School District, only ten percent of the district's 723,000 students are English-speaking, non-Hispanic whites. More than half of California's school population is either foreign-born or first-generation American. Other findings include the fact that in Dearborn, Michigan, *halal* food must be served; in Kentucky's Jefferson County School District fifteen foreign-born students are enrolled weekly. They arrive from Bosnia, Rwanda, Sudan, Somalia, Cuba, and Mexico.

Since the reporter had all the facts at his disposal, a story on immigrant enrollment's being the main source of overall enrollment increases was just a mathematical calculation or two away. If, as the Census Bureau reports, at least one in five enrolled in K-12 in 1999 had a foreign-born parent, then 20 percent of the 49 million amounts to 9.8 million students. If you deduct those 9.8 million immigrant students, the total enrollment would have been 39.2 million, and not the record-breaking 49 million. In other words, immigration is solely and exclusively the driving force behind soaring school enrollments. [*Editor's note: See Linda Thom's articles on these statistics in* The Social Contract, *Vol. VII, No. 1, p.28; Vol. VIII, No. 1, p.47; Vol. XI, No. 3, p.205.*]

As a by-product of pronounced increases in school enrollment, school districts throughout the nation face a serious shortage of teachers. Administrators are heading off to such faraway places as India, China, and the Philippines to find able bodies to fill empty slots in the classroom.

Of the several dozen stories I have read about recruiting teachers from overseas, none mentions the obvious Catch-22 of hiring immigrants to work in public schools that have been overwhelmed by unchecked immigration. Neither does any story discuss other possible solutions such as hiring a recently-retired teacher back into the system and allowing the drawing of both salary and retirement. No story cites the opinions of parents who might be skeptical about a recently-arrived, inexperienced immigrant teaching his child's class. Other teachers, experienced in the pressures of life in the classroom, were not interviewed. No reporter talked to any school administrator who had hired from abroad in recent years. What were their experiences? The stories, as written, were celebrations of ever more immigration. The theme was immigrants coming to rescue

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immigrants. In short, no probing questions were asked. Here is an example:

"Latest Hub import: Teachers from Philippines"
by Ed Hayward, *Boston Herald*
March 19, 2001

SYNOPSIS: Boston needs teachers. The shortage is worst in math, science, and special education. The Philippines has a "gold mine of competent educators" eager to head to the United States.

"Scores of stories favoring in-state tuition for illegal immigrants appeared this spring and summer without a whimper of dissent."

COMMENT: Who says the Philippines has a gold mine of trained teachers? The Universal Agency, a recruitment firm that is paid for every teacher it places in the Boston schoo! system, that's who! Obviously, the placement firm is not in a position to evaluate the idea's merit since it stands to benefit financially. The story is weighted down by sugary references to how wonderful the potential teachers are. Their students give them gifts of coconuts and mangos. Missing entirely is an analysis of the challenges facing teachers "from a little mountain top in the jungle" when they enter an American urban classroom. Also, the reporter did not pick up on the most obvious: teachers in the Philippines can earn between $2,100 and $3,600 annually, versus the $37,000 to $44,000 salaries in the U.S.

This spring various states considered allowing illegal immigrants to attend college and pay in-state fees. Texas, in fact, enacted such legislation. Certain restrictions would apply: students had to be of good character and have good attendance records and grades. California and Illinois considered passing a law similar to that in Texas.

Scores of stories favoring in-state tuition for illegal immigrants appeared this spring and summer without a whimper of dissent. Rarely does a story examine the public policy implications such as tax cost, how many might participate, or whether American students might be denied admission or government grants because illegal immigrants would move ahead of them in line.

The majority of stories rely on an overly sympathetic – bordering on maudlin – style which has no place in serious journalism. Here are two:

"Illegal immigrants face barrier in pursuit of college education"
by Teresa Puente, *Chicago Tribune*
June 5, 2001

"Student seeks her salvation in Immigration Bill"
by Hang Nguyen, *Los Angeles Times*
June 28, 2001

SYNOPSIS: High school graduates who have performed well and are good young community members should be able to get college scholarships or pay in-state tuition fees even though they are illegal aliens. To deny them is unfair and un-American.

COMMENT: The question of financial aid for good kids who are also illegal immigrants is a complex, emotional subject. Thoughtful reporting is needed. What we get instead is a litany of complaints about the "unfairness" of it all. The reporters dutifully note all the kudos from the teachers, the counselors, and the parents. But this tough issue deserves better. Here are some questions that would have produced outstanding stories instead of the predictable ones that were written.

"You say that America is not the land of the free. But under the law you should be deported. Instead, you have had a K-12 education paid for in full by California/Illinois taxpayers. How do you feel about that?"

"Have you thought about attending the University of Mexico, a highly regarded institution in a country where you hold citizenship?"

"While it is true that your illegal status in the U.S. prevents you from getting scholarship funds, you can still work and pay for your own education. Millions of successful people have taken this path. What is wrong with paying your way through school?"

Noteworthy also is the fact that neither reporter discussed the financial implications to taxpayers of scholarships for illegal immigrants.

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The Anecdotal Story

The trend toward mixing personal history with news reporting has resulted in some very unprofessional stories. The stories are written by formula with an easily identifiable cast of characters and a familiar plot. The protagonist is usually someone who has been inordinately successful or the victim of a tragic turn of events. In the former case, that person is usually about to be deported. Hence the U.S. will lose a valuable contributor. Or in the latter, if the cold hearted bureaucrats at the INS carry out the law, the victim's precarious lot will worsen immediately.

These stories are routinely timed to coincide with major immigration legislation. The advocacy position of the newspaper is inescapable.

The first story I analyzed for the Media Standards Project appeared just a few days before Congress would vote on increasing the H-1B visa cap from 115,000 annually to 195,000. An increase in the H-1B cap would be another blow to American software workers who had already suffered a series of defeats on visa legislation. An in-depth story detailing both sides of the argument would have been appropriate. Instead, the *Washington Post*, on the front page, published:

"A Worn-Out Welcome Mat"
by Hanna Rosin, *Washington Post*
September 16, 2000

SYNOPSIS: Mr. Sanjay Singh must leave the U.S. His H-1B visa has expired. In this hackneyed story, we learn that Mr. Singh is inconvenienced by this turn of events. He will have to pack up personal items like his children's Pooh bears. The kids are going to miss the Halloween party, too. Mr. Singh gets a few jabs in at the U.S.: "Liberty, equality, pursuit of justice... yeah, sure," he says. Ms. Rosin does not challenge any element of Singh's rambling complaints against the system.

COMMENT: The thesis of the story is absurd. Mr. Singh signed a federal document stating that he would leave when his visa expired. That hour has come and he is full of anti-American carping. Ms. Rosin tells only Mr. Singh's story. No other side is presented. The story is full of trivial details. Most ironically, Ms. Rosen's *Washington Post* story violates all of the elements of professionalism outlined by Ombudsman Shipp in her "In Pursuit of Fairness" column. Nor did Ms. Rosin's story meet the standards outlined by Katherine Graham in *Personal History*.

Kickers

In a professionally written story, the reader should come away with both sides of the argument but without any idea as to where the reporter stands. Unfortunately, in immigration stories, the reporter makes sure that you know how he feels about his topic by writing a kicker (the final paragraph or two) to summarize his feelings. Although the kickers obviously advocate more immigration, the reporters and editors are clearly content to sacrifice standards in exchange for driving home the message the paper wishes to convey.

Here follow the "kickers" in the stories recounted above. My interpretation appears in parentheses.

"Mexican 'Guest Workers': A Project Worth a Try?"
New York Times

"When asked how long a break they usually took for lunch, the workers looked puzzled. Renato Garcia Rivera, 23, a native of the central Mexican state of Morelos, said, "We may stop our work for a few minutes to eat a taco, but there is no real time for breaks." (Immigrants are tireless workers. We need more of them.)

"Border Pact to target safety"
Los Angeles Times

"The Reverend Robin Hoover, a Tucson clergyman, urged a broader campaign to reform U.S. border enforcement, blamed by many for pushing migrants into high-risk areas. Border Patrol officials in Imperial County say the (water) stations might help though it is unclear how many migrants use them. Eight migrants have died of heat there since October. 'If that is going to save one person, then we're for that,' said agent Manuel Figueroa." (Not so many people would die if Border Patrol policies weren't so unfair.)

"USA just wouldn't work without immigrant labor"
USA Today

"He (Carlos Neito) is somewhat puzzled by all the analysis that this latest wave of immigrants is receiving

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from statisticians and demographers. To him, it's all pretty simple, kind of like that slogan from the baseball movie *Field of Dreams*: Build it and they will come. 'The people are coming for work,' he explains. 'If they cannot find it here, they'll find other places to go.'" (Immigrants come because jobs await them)

"Illegal immigrants face barrier in pursuit of college education"

Chicago Tribune

"'If I were to go back to Mexico City,' he (Miguel Parra) said, 'there's nothing left for me over there. Everything is here.'" (America owes me because I don't like my homeland.)

"Student Seeks Her Salvation in Immigration Bill"

Los Angeles Times

"As she ('Sara') sat on the soiled couch she so often sleeps on, she closed her eyes, took a long deep breath and said: 'I want to be optimistic and I really am. There's no other way.'" (The bill should pass because Sara has no future without it.)

"A Worn Out Welcome Mat"

Washington Post

"It's moving day and Sanjay loads up the last of the stuff in the minivan. They take with them precious few things – some toys for Shraya, the car seat, some technical books, plus that piece of paper (H-1B visa), the cause of his grief. 'I don't know why I keep it,' he says. 'I should burn it.' But then that's no way to push off. So he adds: 'Just kidding,' in his studied American cool, before driving away." (Sanjay has been betrayed.)

The Role of the Ombudsman

The ombudsman, a staff position created to hold the newspaper more accountable to its readers, could play an important role in how immigration is reported in newspapers. About thirty dailies have ombudsmen.

On its website, the Organization of News Ombudsmen (www.ono.org) states that its purpose is to promote "fairness and balance" in news stories. Responsible journalists, according to the ONO, should be willing to engage readers in conversation, acknowledge that they may have missed a key point in their story, and work toward gaining insight into how their future stories might be more professional.

In her August 6, 2000, column "Please Complain" *Washington Post* Ombudsman E.R. Shipp encouraged readers to "pick up the telephone and call – not just the ombudsman but the reporters and editors, too." Ms. Shipp urged us not to accept brush-offs. But if the ombudsman's job is to interact with readers, why should there be a brush-off.

Taking Ms. Shipp's advice, I have frequently called ombudsmen, reporters, and editors. I have been disappointed that so many failed to return calls. My disappointment was compounded when, on occasions that calls were returned, intelligent exchanges ensued. Editors and reporters should show more interest in learning about other approaches to immigration stories. Even when reminded that the majority of Americans (and therefore the majority of readers) favor immigration reform and that a more complete story would be more representative of the readership, too many reporters and editors seemed detached. Vigorous and repeated follow-up with the same reporters and editors would likely have a greater impact.

As Ms. Shipp pointed out, the real enforcement for professionalism must come from the higher authorities at the newspaper: the publishers, executive editors and managing editors who establish the rules. But the ombudsman could and should act as a go-between for the readers and the senior editors.

After September 11

I have cited only a few of the stories that I have read over the last eighteen months. Unfortunately they represent the typical rather than the exceptional. One story after another lacks balance, does not support the open exchange of views, or fails to verify facts.

Despite the fact that myriad immigration experts are readily available to any reporter,[1] they are rarely cited. When quoted, their statements often appear deep into the story and are the single source representing the immigration reform position.

Immigration stories are told from one side only. Because of the way the stories are structured, nearly all, in the end, advocate. I can think of no other issue wherein reporters so consistently advocate. In a democracy, journalism's role is to encourage open and honest debate about important social issues. That is what the Society for Professional Journalists, the Committee for Concerned Journalists, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and every journalism school in America promote.

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Reporters are obviously trying to do a solid job of writing balanced stories about campaign finance reform, patient's bill of rights, social security reform, the budget, and even Gary Condit-Chandra Levy. But in what many think is the most important social issue facing America – immigration – professionalism is almost totally lacking.

In a scenario in which only one point of view is represented, anyone who holds the opposite view is marginalized, at best, or dismissed, at worst. More importantly, readers are left in the dark. Interested parties can easily check the findings of this report. Go to the website of any major newspaper and do a search for immigration stories. Download ten and read them for yourself.

After the September 11 attacks, I revisited the January 25, 2000, congressional testimony of terrorist expert and investigator Steven Emerson. In his testimony, Emerson listed the reasons so many militant Islamic fundamentalists had entered the U.S. and were operating below the radar screen. How did the terrorists move about with the ease of diplomats and avoid scrutiny from public officials and law enforcement? Emerson's list is by now painfully familiar: loopholes in immigration procedures, ease of penetration of borders, and ease of visa fraud.

But Emerson also lists "absence of a vigilant media" among his causes. As we have seen, immigration is covered from only one perspective – that immigration is good and that the only thing better would be more immigration. Would reporters have been open-minded enough to consider an investigative story on the threat Islamic fundamentalists poses to our society? If Emerson had approached a reporter to suggest a story about student visa fraud, would the reporter have been receptive? Based on my findings, I would sadly but firmly answer "no."

Remember that one of the tools used by terrorists to enter the mainstream was a driver's license. The debate about drivers' licenses for illegal aliens was one of the big issues of the summer. Across the nation, newspaper stories dealing with whether illegal aliens should be entitled to drivers' licenses were predominantly unbalanced in favor of the idea.

Conclusions

Immigration stories appear to be written with an advocacy slant because major newspapers have adopted and embraced the principles of globalism and multiculturalism without reservation. Many biased stories about immigration are really editorials.

Writing about the *New York Times* in his July 2001 essay for the Biocentric Institute, Louisiana State Journalism Professor William B. Dickinson observes:

> *Today, the newspaper's long commitment to unbridled immigration has blurred the lines between opinion and news. Stories and features are almost always written from the viewpoint of the immigrants, not the long-time residents who have been displaced. Weepy anecdotal leads are one device by which journalists can induce readers to generalize from the specific, and the* Times *is a master of the genre.*

Based on my Media Standards Project research, Dickerson's conclusions about the *Times* apply to most major dailies.

In addition to embracing multiculturalism, another newsroom phenomenon interferes with professionalism. *Washington Post* and *Newsweek* columnist Robert J. Samuelson in his August column, "A Liberal Bias?" provides important insights. According to Samuelson,

> *Some groups and ideas are treated well in coverage because they seem "praiseworthy" and right. Others are disdained because they seem questionable, undesirable or "fringe" Among journalists, pressures to social conformity mean that challenges to what "everyone believes" are rare.*

Continuing Samuelson writes,

> *Polls consistently show declining trust in the media. This has many causes, some not easily remedied. But one is the perception of bias and the feeling that the press often violates its own professional standards of behavior. We aren't as tough on ourselves as we are on others.*

Samuelson strikes at the heart of the matter. Immigration stories are written from pre-conceived notions. Journalists find certain ideas (increased immigration), certain spokesmen (pro-immigration advocates), and certain groups attractive while other ideas, spokesmen and groups (anyone who might argue for immigration reform) are suspect.

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Apparently, most journalists writing about immigration feel those who favor reform are suspect. But to use that as an excuse for unbalanced reporting violates professionalism.

The irony is that professionalism is an easily obtainable goal. Returning to Ms. Shipp's "In Pursuit of Fairness" column, she writes that fairness is an easily obtainable goal if reporters "even in the heat of the chase, in the excitement of the moment, under the stress of the looming deadline have handy their own little check lists." Editors need check lists, too, adds Ms. Shipp. By remembering the *Post*'s own commitment to fairness, Shipp writes, "the concept of fairness is something that editors and reporters can easily pursue."

Is Samuelson Right?

At the beginning of this paper, I stated that the Media Standards Project used the media's own watchdog groups to evaluate professionalism in immigration stories. All of these groups, the Society for Professional Journalists, the Committee for Concerned Journalists and the American Society of Newspaper Editors have websites which declare their dedication to the highest principles of journalism.

The Society for Professional Journalists publishes an in-house magazine, *Quill*, ten times a year. The magazine is also reprinted in part on the website.

The Committee for Concerned Journalists lists among its members 1,200 prominent journalists from across the U.S. The Chairman of the CCJ, Bill Kovach, travels throughout the country presenting seminars in working newsrooms about the importance of writing professional stories that adhere to the well-established principles of journalism. These sessions are called "The Project for Excellence in Journalism: An initiative by journalists concerned about standards in the news media." Case studies are reviewed. Kovach's book, *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople should know and the public should expect*, states in the introduction that journalism's first obligation is to the citizens. Like the SPJ and the CCJ, the American Society for Newspaper Editors has lofty standards. The group claims a long-standing commitment to fairness and balance.

I have contacted all three groups and had various levels of discussions and personal meetings. None denied the findings of the report. But none at this time is willing to tackle the systemic causes of the nearly universal unprofessionalism of immigration coverage. It appears that even professional watchdog groups are fearful that if they specifically point out the need for balance in immigration stories, they may be accused of favoring those who support more restrained flows of immigration. Is it possible that even after September 11, the media still treats immigration as an "untouchable" subject?

Despite the indifference shown to the Media Standards Project by the watchdog groups, the project has had successes when reporters and editors are open-minded enough to admit that coverage can be better. For maximum effect, the reporters' stories have to be tracked and read on a regular basis to look for improvement. In the coming months, as new immigration legislation is debated, the arguments will intensify. The public deserves a full accounting in the thousands of stories to come out of both sides of the immigration debate.

And the need for improvement in immigration stories is becoming a larger issue in the campaigns by well-publicized critics of the news media. The goal of each story should be to reflect the "Journalist's Creed" as written by the first dean of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, Walter Williams:

> *I believe that the public journal is a public trust; that all connected with it are in full measure of their responsibility, trustees for the public; that acceptance of a lesser service than the public service is a betrayal of this trust.* ■

NOTE

1. Reporters and other writers would be able to check figures and policy positions on immigration with any number of organizations including the following:

NumbersUSA.com at www.NumbersUSA.com.

Center for Immigration Studies at www.cis.org.

Federation for American Immigration Reform at www.fairus.org.

Carrying Capacity Network at www.carryingcapacity.org.

Migration News at www.migration.ucdavis.edu.

Professor Norman Matloff at www.heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/pub/Immigration/Index.html.

Limits to Growth at www.LimitsToGrowth.org.

ProjectUSA at www.projectusa.org.

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Color the Newsroom Gray

Book Review by Brenda Walker

Newspaper editors who wonder why their readership is falling should pay attention to *Coloring the News: How Crusading for Diversity Has Corrupted American Journalism.* William McGowan's recent media critique recounts the press' strange detour into a new sort of journalism that is less attentive to standards of accuracy than it is to a supportive view of certain groups. Hint: average Americans are not represented in those newly favored demographics.

McGowan agrees with the idea that a wider diversity of views in the newsroom would be a positive thing, but his research indicates that the quota-based diversity of skin hues and ethnicities has actually reduced free speech and chilled the forum of competing ideas. The appearance of diversity has broadened, but the belief system has narrowed considerably. Even objectivity has been challenged by radical journalists as a white cultural artifact. Of course, perfect objectivity in any human affairs will be the ideal rather than reality, but that is no reason to reject the concept. We don't discard "justice" as a sought-after goal merely because perfection is rarely achieved in the courts or in life.

Coloring the News: How Crusading for Diversity Has Corrupted American Journalism
by William McGowan
San Francisco: Encounter Books
278 pages, price $25.95

Some of the newsroom policies to implement the new journalism are mind boggling in terms of Stalinist thought control. At *USA Today*, the practice of always having a photo of a minority person above the front-page fold was expanded in 1993 with a policy called "mainstreaming" designed to include the views of ethnic persons in every story. The paper's diversity committee analyzed each article for the number of minorities quoted, and the score for each reporter was part of that writer's evaluation. In 1997, *USA Today* scaled back by keeping the scorecards but no longer used them in assessing journalists. In a similar instance, the ninety papers in the Gannett chain promoted the so-called "All American Contest" in which promotions and other financial rewards were given to editors who successfully increased newsroom diversity and sensitivity to coverage of minority issues. After all, the tone had been set by influential *New York Times* publisher Arthur Sulzberger Jr., who repeatedly stated that diversity was the "single most important issue" facing the *Times.*

The book is divided into chapters based on those topics now favored with special treatment by diversity journalism: race, gay and feminist issues, affirmative action, and immigration. Each receives thorough examination with plenty of examples. The immigration chapter is nearly forty pages long and will confirm many of your worst suspicions about how the issue is considered in today's journalism.

Indeed, immigration is regarded as an unquestioned good in the newsroom. Objections based on factual observation and statistics are dismissed by editors out of hand as nativist rantings. The multicultural paradigm has been accepted with no question; the previous ideal of the Progressive era, that newcomers would assimilate into the larger American society, has disappeared from memory. Instead of joining with their American neighbors, immigrants are encouraged by the media to remain in balkanized communities with hyphenated identities. In one stellar example of celebrating diversity (and rejecting harmony), the *New York Times* suggested in 1998 that assimilation was a racist concept.

With beliefs based on diversity ideology, it is not

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surprising that the press has been the unapologetic cheerleader for policies that increase social fragmentation, although the argument is always framed in terms of preserving cultural diversity. From bilingual education (which should more accurately be called non-English instruction) to taxpayer-subsidized benefits for illegal aliens (California's Proposition 187), the press has thrown objectivity out the window in order to lobby for a more uniform multicultural social order. When the readers vote for a different kind of community, journalists retreat into their elite mindset and harden the belief that they are right and noble. Furthermore, it follows that the general public must be filled with unenlightened racists to hold such views. No wonder the disconnect between the mainstream press and the reading public is growing wider.

Sadly, the remaining critical editors and writers appear cowed into submission. Many of the journalists consulted for the book did not wish to be named. At the *Los Angeles Times*, numerous experienced writers grabbed the opportunity of early retirement when it was offered. In one case, a Vermont journalist was fired because he reported an instance of reverse racism in which a white woman was ejected from a minority forum for requesting an opportunity to speak. Throughout the book, the pervading newsroom atmosphere is one of fear and repression. The reader is left with generic human-interest stories about immigrant families struggling to find a better life, rather than factual analysis about the demographic tidal wave.

Unfortunately, *Coloring the News* appears to have been eclipsed by the best-selling *Bias*, another media critique. *Bias* struck a chord with the public and is written with a mass audience in mind, with a conversational tone plus some juicy stories about Dan Rather that have contributed to its appeal. *Coloring the News* is more detailed and rewards the serious reader with much usable information as well as psychological insight into newsroom orthodoxy.

You can read the preface on the book's complete website, http://www.coloringthenews.com/. ■

[Editor's note: Excerpts from the "Immigration" chapter of McGowan's book begin on page 174 of this issue.]

With Bias Toward All

The news media are damaging their honesty and credibility

by John Leo

Some 440,000 copies of Bernard Goldberg's book *Bias* are now in print. Who knew that a complaint about news bias would become a runaway best seller? You could tell the book was touching a nerve when two very good journalists, columnist Michael Kinsley and TV critic Tom Shales, both attacked Goldberg with berserk and sputtering, almost vein-popping rage.

Goldberg says reaction to the book shows "a total disconnect between regular people and media people." He thinks most "regulars" understand that the packaging of news reflects the worldview of the packagers, while most media people take the fundamentalist view that the news is neutral and pure, so anyone who doesn't agree with this must be a right-wing nut. Goldberg got a good ride from radio and cable TV, but the three old-line TV networks have pretended his book doesn't exist. He thinks *Bias* is the first No. 1 non-fiction bestseller of modern times that failed to get a single minute on CBS, NBC or ABC. He was interviewed by Italian *Nightline* but not by the American version,

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the one that will cause the republic to fall if it is ever replaced by David Letterman.

The reluctance of the news business to hold seminars and conduct investigations of news bias is almost legendary. In 1990, *Los Angeles Times* media critic David Shaw stunned everybody with a 12,000-word, four-part series on press coverage of the abortion issue. He essentially concluded that the American newsroom culture is so strongly pro-choice that it cannot bring itself to report the issue fairly. This apparently explosive report provoked no self-examination, no panel discussions. It quickly made the rounds of newsrooms like *samizdat*. Privately, lots of reporters and editors said it was true, and a few articles appeared. But in general, journalists reacted as if the Shaw report had never happened. I arrived on the advisory board of the *Columbia Journalism Review* a year later, and I pushed hard (but, of course, late) for *CJR* to examine Shaw's findings. No dice. Everyone was determined to look the other way. I cannot think of a major newspaper series that got less attention. The reason, I think, was obvious: feminists in the newsroom would not stand for this issue to be aired. So it wasn't.

Don't Deviate

Since the "diversity" juggernaut has swept through the newsroom, other groups have acquired the power to monitor their own coverage. This is, of course, a deadly threat to the news media's honesty and credibility. Here's a current example of how this system works. For years, Tammy Bruce was a familiar political figure and talk-show host in Los Angeles with all the right tickets for easy newsroom acceptance. In fact, she was three of the newsroom's favorite lobbies rolled into one person – she was a pro-abortion-rights, lesbian activist, and head of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Organization for Women. (She was pro-gun-ownership too, but nobody's perfect.) Then she made two fateful deviations from the party line: she charged that NOW was muting criticism of O. J. Simpson to keep on the good side of the NAACP, and she wrote an op-ed piece defending Dr. Laura Schlessinger from the gay McCarthyites who eventually drove her off TV for saying that homosexual sex is "deviant." (Bruce says that Dr. Laura has been personally kind to her and to PFLAG, the organization of parents and friends of lesbians and gays.)

"The reluctance of the news business to hold seminars and conduct investigations of news bias is almost legendary."

Her op-ed piece was mainly a defense of free speech. Instead of printing her op-ed right away, as it usually did, the *Los Angeles Times* delayed and said there were problems, so Bruce sent it to the *New York Times*, which gave it a heavy edit that "bore little resemblance to what I had originally submitted" and was "arguably anti-Laura." She withdrew the piece. It finally ran in the *Los Angeles Times*, tucked away in the poorly-read "Calendar" section, and very late in the quickly unfolding debate over Dr. Laura. Bruce found her status had changed. She had become uninterviewable in the *Los Angeles Times*. She said, "I've found out what it's like trying to get your message out when you are on the wrong side of an issue."

Now she has a strong book out: *The New Thought Police: Inside the Left's Assault on Free Speech and Free Minds*. A few conservative outlets plugged it, but in five months she has not received a single review in any mainstream newspaper or magazine, which sort of proves her point about the power of the censoring left. If Norah Vincent, a brave *Los Angeles Times* columnist, had not written about this newsroom-unapproved book, few people in Bruce's hometown would even know she had written it. She is a non-person in the *L. A. Times*, and her book apparently never happened.

Now she knows that Bernie Goldberg is right. ■

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Coloring the News About Immigration

Excerpts from an important new book

by William McGowan

Measures designed to enhance diversity in newsroom staffing and coverage have made journalism much more sensitive to the concerns of a huge wave of new, nonwhite Americans and have given the news reporting process greater access to, and sympathy for, these groups than ever before. But sensitivity and access have often been purchased at the expense of rigor, and a thick coat of piety and cant has often obscured plain truths. Too many journalists have been all too ready to celebrate immigration's relationship to America's increasing cultural diversity, even when the facts on the ground don't support such enthusiasm. In the process, they have left important questions unanswered and dismissed legitimate concerns as "nativism." Rather than engage in a full and frank examination of immigration, news organizations have been too ready to follow a romantic script that exaggerates its benefits and ignores its downsides.

The influx of new immigrants has put a tremendous strain on schools, social welfare systems, hospitals, prisons and police forces. It has put a strain on our social fabric as well, as Third World immigrants with values and attitudes very different from mainstream American norms pursue the process of assimilation with much less focus – and pressure from the outside – than earlier generations. The huge swell of immigrants, particularly illegal immigrants, has also tended to depress wages in lower-skilled occupations too, and it has allowed a frightening array of criminals and criminal syndicates to set up shop here while no one was really looking.

There are also legitimate grounds for concern over the sheer numbers involved: almost a million legal immigrants annually and another 300,000 to 400,000 illegal immigrants. According to one authoritative report, nearly half of the population of the Dominican Republic said they would emigrate to America if they had the opportunity.

When Did Assimilation Become a Bad Thing?

That this immigration is occurring at a time when the disciples of diversity are disparaging the successful formulas and frameworks for absorbing newcomers forged at the turn of the century by Progressive-era reformers and their journalistic allies is perhaps the greatest reason for pessimism. The assimilationist paradigm proved crucial to the successful incorporation of new immigrants then, and has largely spared us the kind of tribal and nationalist frictions that have balkanized many other multiethnic nations around the world. It also became the basis by which immigrants were extended the full "promise of American life," as Progressive-era journalist Herbert Croly described it, shucking off the foreign customs, practices, habits of thinking and values that were – and still are – at odds with "progressive" American ideals of democracy, economic upward mobility, and middle-class life.

The new multicultural paradigm encourages immigrants to maintain a hyphenated sense of self and culture. It tells society it must accommodate new, mostly Third World immigrants as groups or "communities" rather than individuals. It encourages divided loyalties and emotional conflicts of interest. It

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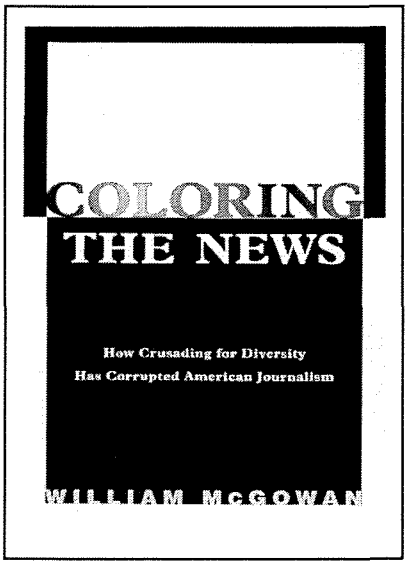
insists that notions of cultural "uplift" are condescending. And it suggests, as a *New York Times* report on "transnational immigration" did in 1998, that the concept of assimilation is "racists" – ignoring the implications this stance might have for our civic culture.

Those covering the bilingual education beat have often turned a blind eye to the wider impact of these programs on society at large. Yet impartial analyses of the reasons behind white flight from the public schools often cite bilingual programs, which siphon resources away from native-born middle-class children, as a big factor. (In the heyday of bilingual instruction, California spent 65 percent more on "language needs" children than it did on English speakers.) What's more, studies suggest that Latino teens with an inadequate grasp of English are much more susceptible to the lure of criminal gangs. Employers deny dysfunctional English speakers steady work with a future, and college administrators complain that students arriving on their campuses with an inadequate grasp of English must be placed in remedial classes that bear a perverse similarity to the bilingual high school classrooms that failed the students so badly to begin with. Yet these stories, as compelling as they are, don't seem to make their way onto the media radar screen in any meaningful way.



The same orthodoxy that inhibits criticism of language policies also stunts a discussion of other issues linked to the broader subject of cultural difference. Reporting on immigration often ignores or minimizes the extent to which the cultural values, attitudes and customs of new Third World immigrants clash with mainstream American norms. Like their counterparts in academia, pro-diversity journalists tend to celebrate the theory of "difference," but don't like to look too closely at some of the social outcomes these differences cause.

Yet when journalists walk on eggshells as they get close to some of the consequences of cultural difference, they leave a significant gap in our understanding of what the new immigrant communities are all about, what kind of impact they are having on our ideals and institutions, and what we should be doing to help them adjust.

Reporting Cultural Differences

The lag experienced by Latinos, particularly Mexicans, who constitute almost two-thirds of all new immigrants, seems to be more persistent. Median household income, while on the rise for every other group of American, is going down for Latinos. Many social scientists have begun to worry that Latino residents may become trapped as a permanent sub-class of the working poor.

Typical was a piece in which Steven Holmes of the *New York Times,* citing a 1995 study, reported that only nine percent of Hispanics hold bachelor degrees compared with nearly twenty-five percent of non-Hispanic Americans. The problem, Holmes wrote, was a function of "endemic poverty, discrimination and lack of recruitment." The human factors that might explain this problem more deeply – most notably what some anthropologists and sociologists call the "lack of a family culture that supports education" – were given no attention.

The high Latino illegitimacy rate, which costs society billions in welfare benefits for families headed by unwed mothers, is just as taboo. Reporters and editorialists have preferred to emphasize the hard-working, family orientation of new Latino immigrants over the very high illegitimacy rates. Even when the latter is acknowledged, journalists still tend to write about it as if it were merely a problem of racial bias and alienation with no cultural issues involved.

A similarly romantic and highly relativistic approach is frequently taken in reporting on those immigrant cultural practices and customs – ranging from animal sacrifice to voodoo to arranged marriages and female genital mutilation – that contradict some of our more progressive social ideals. A case in point is the subject of folk healing and traditional folk

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medicine. A May 1996 *New York Times* piece titled "Mingling Two Worlds of Medicine: Some Doctors Work with Folk Healers in Immigrants' Care," for instance, noted that some doctors who had formerly dismissed the work of these folk healers as "superstitious quackery" were now starting to condone their practices.

While noting some of the problems associated with encouraging folk treatments – an asthmatic patient who suffered an acute reaction after seeing a Chinese herbalist; a diabetic who was given chicken gall bladder twice a day – the piece implied that on the whole, the trend was positive. It was a conclusion contradicted by much other evidence that folk beliefs run profoundly against the grain of Western science and the welfare of patients – an omission that upset some of the doctors interviewed for the report.

According to Dr. Michael Diaz of Mt. Sinai Medical Center, the trend toward sanctioning folk healing represents "politically correct" pandering on the part of administrators and makes little medical sense. "If folk healing practices work so well," Diaz insisted to me, "then why are the morbidity and mortality rates in the countries where they are used so high?" Journalists who write positively about the trend are doing a disservice, he said. "The journalists I've spoken to usually have their minds made up already. They don't allow objective data to override their prejudices."

Consider as well the *Miami Herald's* treatment of animal sacrifice associated with the Afro-Cuban practice of Santeria.

Most egregious was a *Miami Herald* account that described the ritual slaughter of fifteen animals in a Santeria celebration. The celebration, organized by a Santeria priest named Rigoberto Zamora, was an effort to dispel the notion that such sacrifices were cruel to animals. By all *other* accounts, the ritual did not have the desired effect. Gory with blood and guts and the bleating of goats and chickens as they died slow, cruel deaths, the scene was ghastly. At one point a goat was stabbed with a rusty knife and decapitated, spraying blood all over.

Yet in *its* account, the *Herald* conspicuously ignored these details, purging the more nauseating sounds and smells. Forgetting the butchered goat, *Herald* reporter Aminda Marques Gonzalez wrote about how reverently "a white rooster was offered to Elequa, its blood squeezed into the basins." The only hint that the event was at all strange came in a description of the arrival of the building owner, who had been alerted by angry neighbors and said he would start eviction proceedings the next day.

Reluctance to discuss the more embarrassing aspects of Third World supersition could also be seen in coverage of revelations in August 1994 that $12,000 in state funds were used to perform an exorcism on a Haitian psychiatric patient at King's County Hospital in New York City. The patient, Alphonse Pecou, had hacked his girlfirnd to death and then set her on fire in front of her children. The exorcism was done off premises by the Most Reverend Prophet Alpha Omega Bondu, and was authorized by the hospital's business manager, a member of Bondu's church. According to reports, several high-ranking officials at the hospital were in attendance when Bondu performed his ceremony, which, he claimed, successfully routed four of the seven demons that had gained control of the patient.

Yet the *New York Times* ignored the exorcism story altogether for three months, and then only acknowledged it in the course of a larger piece detailing a raft of problems afflicting the facility. Buried in a section of expenses run up by the director was a brief and classically euphemistic nod to the $12,000 that officials at the hospital had used to "give religious counseling to a patient who had killed his girlfriend."

Ironically, many times "cultural sensitivity" even trumps feminism in journalism's politically correct hierarchy. The South Asian custom of arranged marriages, for instance, was dealt with in the 1998 *New York Times* series on the new "transnational" immigrants who straddled their new world and the old one they came from. According to the *Times*, many of these new Americans regard assimilation to "a single American norm" as a "dated, even racist concept."

The same thing is true about reporting on the African Islamic practice of female circumcision among immigrants to the United States.

Impact on Wages

It is not surprising that many journalists, skittish about acknowledging or addressing the realities of cultural difference, have also been reluctant to explore

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the impact that high rates of immigration have had on America's general quality of life, which early in the previous century was at the center of the Progressive journalistic agenda.

Although various news organizations have raised concerns about the effect of immigration on labor, a tendency to celebrate immigrants' economic dynamism often obscures their impact on native-born workers. A 1996 *New York Times* report on the network of Bangladeshi immigrant contractors that has grown up in New York over the last ten years shows such a bias. Written by Somini Sengupta, a reporter whose ethnicity presumably gave her increased access to New York's burgeoning Asian communities, the piece spotlighted the way this network has been "buoyed by a steady stream of low wage workers from back home and an exclusive network through which skills and resources are passed on." Many of the workers, Sengupta acknowledged, are undocumented, being recruited from the ranks of the thousands of illegal Bangladeshi immigrants who land here every year. The piece also noted that contractors using their labor undercut competitors by half. Yet the link between illegal status, low wages and unfair competition was not made. Instead of also acknowledging the justified anger of native-born contractors and artisans driven out of business by the low-wage, illegal competition, the piece monochromatically celebrated the phenomenon as an illustration of the ways in which "immigrants create niches for themselves in the city's economy."

A more acute failure to take seriously the negative impact that illegal aliens have had on American labor could be seen in an account of the problems associated with diversity in Storm Lake, Iowa. While still relatively small, the pool of Southeast Asian and Mexican immigrants who had come to Storm Lake in recent years were not an entirely negligible presence. Crime was up, costs for educating immigrant youngsters were taxing the local school system's budget, and a general sense of alienation had begun to erode what for many residents had long been a cozy sense of homogenous isolation. Most significantly, the low wages that the town's largest employer, a meatpacking plant owned by the food conglomerate IBP, was paying its predominantly immigrant workforce had led many residents to grumble that American workers were being displaced by those who shouldn't be there in the first place.

Steven Holmes, Washington, D.C. bureau correspondent for the *New York Times*, heard about the cultural tensions in Storm Lake while preparing to cover the 1996 Iowa Caucuses. Writing about immigration in such a microcosm presented an opportunity for a serious, even-handed assessment of immigration's impact on heartland job markets, which then was shaping up a a key presidential campaign issue. But rather than presenting hard facts and figures in an effort to assess the validity of Buchanan's charges that IBP was using illegal labor that displaced native workers, Holmes made no effort to conduct any "independent investigation" of his own, as he told me in a subsequent interview. Instead, he simply reported that executives of the company "stress they check the relevant documents of job applicants and do not knowingly hire illegal aliens."

One wonders if Holmes would have let a company accused of brutality against blacks or a corporate executive charged with racial discrimination against minorities off the hook so easily, taking their denials at face value and accepting them as fact.

Given the prominence the *Times* had given Holmes' original "diversity in the heartland" report, the paper should have taken notice of the raid. It did not. Although the downside of immigration was becoming ever more apparent through the election cycle of 1996, the *Times* continued to report on those who questioned current policy as if they were noting more than nineteenth-century Know-Nothings, fulminating against wholly imaginary demons.

Under-reporting Immigrant Crime

Immigration and crime is an even touchier subject for journalists, even though one out of four federal prisoners is an illegal alien, and foreign felons, abetted by a dysfunctional visa system, have been able to enter and leave the country virtually at will while engaging in an ever-expanding range of organized criminal activities: Nigerians in internal car-theft rings; Chinese in extortion, kidnapping, and immigrant-smuggling rackets; Dominicans in drug trafficking; and Russians in stock and credit card scams.

Once again, the *New York Times* seems to have even more trouble than most of the elite press with this subject. In case after case, story after story, facts that

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might suggest a linkage between immigration and crime are airbrushed or minimized.

Throughout most of the 1990s, for example, the *Times* was timid in reporting on the activities of the Dominican gangs that dominated the drug trade in Manhattan's Washington Heights.

Violence between rival drug gangs fueled a murder rate in Washington Heights that was the city's highest for years. To launder cash profits and circumvent federal currency controls, drug gangs set up their own illegal wiring facilities, sending tens of millions out of the country illicitly, a flow that beleaguered banking regulators could do little to stop. At one point, death threats by drug dealers stopped uniformed cops from patrolling certain areas, and the INS was so overwhelmed with casework that drug dealers who should have been deported after they finished serving jail time were simply released back onto the streets.

"The L. A. Times' reporting [about Hispanic gangs] has been less than searching, and tends to duck the tougher issues..."

The problem of immigrant criminality has also been a subject draped in oversensitivity and solicitude at the *Los Angeles Times*. The gang capital of America, Los Angeles has nearly 1,250 identifiable street gangs and up to 150,000 gang members – one-quarter of the nation's total, according to 1996 Department of Justice figures. Many of them are illegal Hispanic aliens.

With over seven thousand gang-related homicides in the last ten years, and whole areas of the city now gang-dominated or gang-controlled, the impact of gang violence on the region's quality of life and sense of public safety and order is unmistakable, and is a driving force in wholesale flight – white, black and brown – from the area. Involved in crimes ranging from drug dealing to extortion to contract killing, gangs pose a particular problem for police and for prosecutors due to the systematic way they intimidate or kill witnesses. Throughout the 1990s more than one thousand accused killers, most of them gang members, went free because witnesses were either dead or too scared to cooperate.

Yet despite the urgency of the problem, the *Los Angeles Times'* reporting has lacked the edge required to rally the public behind policy solutions. Slow to acknowledge the problem, particularly the immigrant dimension, when it was burgeoning in the 1980s, the *Times'* reporting has been less than searching, and tends to duck the tougher issues if they challenge the prevailing orthodoxy of diversity or might feed anti-immigrant stereotypes.

These deficits were evident in a multipart series that the paper ran in November 1996 on the 18th Street Gang, the biggest and most insidious in Los Angeles. The result of eight months of investigative work by reporters Rich Connell and Robert J. Lopez, the series examined the gang's history, criminal activities, sociological complexities and impact on residents. It also detailed law enforcement's failures to come to terms with the gang.

But missing from the series was any mention of what many authorities consider to be a significant policy obstacle to fighting the gang effectively – an obstacle inextricably linked to the larger problem of poor coordination between local and federal authorities. The policy, called Special Order 40, specifically prevented the Los Angeles Policy Department from asking anyone about their immigration status, checking with the INS, or turning in suspects accused of minor violations, one way of monitoring for more serious offenses.

According to those involved in the fight against gangs, it was one of the primary reasons why the region was having such a hard time coming to terms with the alien gang problem.

The problem of methamphetamine "superlabs" in the Central Valley of California is another major crime story with an immigration subtext that news organizations have had a hard time addressing, as a front-page *New York Times* piece in mid-May 2001 attests. Methamphetamine is highly addictive, often causing violent psychosis in abusers. It is also an environmental disaster. Many meth labs employ the

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severely toxic drug phosphine, which can leave the land and buildings used for lab sites permanently polluted and lab workers with disease that quickly becomes fatal.

Today's labs are run by "Mexican crime families" from south of the border who have set up shop in the north in order avoid the hassle of smuggling the drug through the border. These families, the article says, also use their sales network to sell the product nationwide, with drugs produced in California available on the street in Portland, Maine.

But when it came to examining who the lab workers in this labor-intensive industry were, the *Times* reporter seemed to engage in intentional obfuscation.

"You can't discuss large-scale manufacture [of methamphetamine] without mentioning undocumented illegal Mexican immigrants," said Robert Pennal, a federal agent who heads the Fresno Methamphetamine Task Force.

For touchy-feely relativism in reporting on Latino immigrant gangs, however, nothing could surpass Seth Mydans' 1995 *New York Times* story, "Family Ties Strong for Hispanic Gangs." Fusing a report on the ultra-violence of L.A.'s Latino street gangs with a discourse on their often overlooked sense of family values, the piece reads almost like a parody of culturally sensitive reporting. According to Mydans, the gangs could also be "remarkably warm hearted" with a gallant "respect for motherhood." Hispanic family members were very loyal, he noted, visiting incarcerated relatives in jail. And when young teenage couples bore children out of wedlock, the gang members often stayed at home to look after their offspring, proud and exultant.

The Economic Costs Are Not Debated

News organizations skirt immigration's downside in still another way by accepting the line of columnists such as Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times*, who wrote in April 1996, "In any event, most immigrants, in the classic American story, contribute far more to this country than they cost." Reporters have generally ignored an ever-increasing body of research indicating that the opposite is true.

The costs involved in arresting, providing translators for, prosecuting, and incarcerating undocumented immigrant criminals is one subject that news organizations have been very reluctant to acknowledge.

Another facet of the immigrant social spending debate where journalists have been less than vigorous in getting to the facts is immigrant welfare dependency. In 1999, the poverty rate for immigrants and their children was eighteen percent, while it was eleven percent for native-born Americans and their children.

A walk through any social service office filled with Latino clients would be enough at least to raise questions about the link between high immigration and high rates of child poverty, as would even the most cursory conversation with a caseworker or supervisor. But the media often skirt these relationships. The cost of extending medical services to impoverished immigrants, many of them illegal, is another subject that has gotten short shrift. For most of the 1990s in Los Angeles, for instance, illegal immigrants made up one-quarter of the patients in the overburdened public hospital and clinic system and accounted for two-thirds of the births in Los Angeles County hospitals. Yet a *MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour* report on the L.A. County hospital system's 1995 fiscal crisis typified the willful avoidance that reporters often brought to the subject.

There seemed to be a lot of willful denial about the effects of heavy immigration on school spending too. Journalists, preferring to overlook the strains that record numbers of immigrant children were putting on public education, emphasized the bright side. "Immigrants Jam Schools, Invigorate System," read one *New York Times* headline. The *Times* has also shown a reluctance to acknowledge immigration as a factor in school overcrowding. As the 1996 school year opened, the New York City public school system discovered that enrollment rates in many of its districts had vastly exceeded estimates. Chaos resulted.

The most overcrowded districts were also the ones with the heaviest concentrations of immigrants. Many of the parents who were quoted complaining about the situation in the news media were recent arrivals from Bangladesh, Thailand, and other Third World countries. Not long before, the New York Board of Education had issued a report projecting that it would take four hundred new schools, at a cost of

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$10 billion, to accommodate all the new immigrants. Not long after, it released figures showing that immigrant students take longer than most students to graduate, some as much as six or seven years longer, which further contributes to the system's congestion. In its reporting on the overcrowding crisis, however, the *New York Times* barely mentioned the immigration factor. Instead it chose to blame policy decisions made in the 1970s.

Downplaying the Concerns of Average Americans

Were it less ideological, the journalistic establishment might acknowledge that public anxiety about the heavy immigration isn't without some foundation. The demographic transformation such immigration has set in motion is unprecedented in America, turning a majority white nation with European cultural roots into a non-white plurality with no shared cultural heritage. No other country in history has ever willingly attempted, much less accomplished, a social makeover on this scale.

According to polls, most Americans – including most Hispanics – feel uneasy about high rates of immigration and virtually open borders, believing that the harm resulting from such a situation outweighs the gains. Dismayed by the policy dilettantism of political elites, the majority of Americans also resent the fact that they have never been consulted about, much less allowed to debate, the merits of immigration policy with the vigor that the current situation warrants. As Nathan Glazer wrote in the *New Republic*, "When one considers present immigration policies, it seems we have insensibly reverted to mass immigration without ever having made a decision to do so."

Yet for most of the 1980s and early 1990s, journalists helped to chill a much-needed, vigorous debate on immigration and immigration reform. Echoing the activists who made accusations of nativism whenever calls for reform were made, the press helped establish an embargo on criticism. "A Land of Immigrants Gets Uneasy about Immigration" read one *New York Times* headline, repeating predictions that the country might soon be seeing the bloody ghosts of its anti-immigrant past. Dismissed in one *New York Times* headline as "An Accident of Geography" and in a *Times* op-ed piece as the equivalent of the Berlin Wall, the concept of a border itself was made to seem illegitimate, and those who were calling for beefing up its strength were regularly disparaged as "mean-spirited" chauvinists trying to hold back a human tide that was veritably a force of nature. ■

Population Growth and Journalists

In the same vein as our feature section on the media, we have been alerted (by way of like-minded associates in Australia) to a study, "How and Why Journalists Avoid the Population-Environment Connection" by T. Michael Maher of the University of Southwestern Louisiana. It can be found on the website of Alternatives to Growth Oregon at www.agoregon.org. Click on "resources" and then "articles." The entire 35-page report can be downloaded as a PDF file.

The two questions explored by the author are (1) to what extent do press reports about population-driven environmental problems link those problems to population growth, and (2) what reasons do reporters give for ignoring population growth in stories about environmental problems. The abstract of the study reads:

Recent surveys show that Americans are less concerned about population than they were 25 years ago, and they aren't connecting environmental degradation to population growth. News coverage is a significant variable affecting public opinion, and how reporters frame a problem frequently signals what is causing the problem. Using a random sample of 150 stories about urban sprawl, endangered species, and water shortages, Part I of this study shows that only about one story in ten framed population growth as a source of the problem. Further, only one story in the entire sample mentioned population stability among the realm of possible solutions. Part II presents the results of interviews with 25 journalists whose stories on local environmental problems omitted the causal role of population growth. It shows that journalists are aware of the controversial nature of the population issue, and prefer to avoid it if possible. Most interviewees said that a national phenomenon like population growth was beyond the scope of what they could write as local reporters.

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Our Triune Brain

Neuroscientist Paul D. MacLean posits a reliable key to human behavior

by Gustav A. Uhlich

In a recent article on environmental issues, Garrett Hardin observed: "Legions of influential people, casually identified as well educated, live by persuasive superstitions."[1] It takes little effort to verify his contention. We all have a tendency to fall for catchy slogans, senseless mantras, and lofty delusions. In spite of an abundance of scientifically documented information on life about us, our mind often seems entrapped by a spider web of ancient mythologies, philosophical speculations and political utopias.

It is not my intention to question the social utility of some of the empirical guidelines for human conduct which have emerged from the labyrinth of trial and error. It is, however, my conviction that we have reached a point in our evolution at which we need to search for a more rational and consistent basis for human behavior — on the personal, the national, and the global platform.

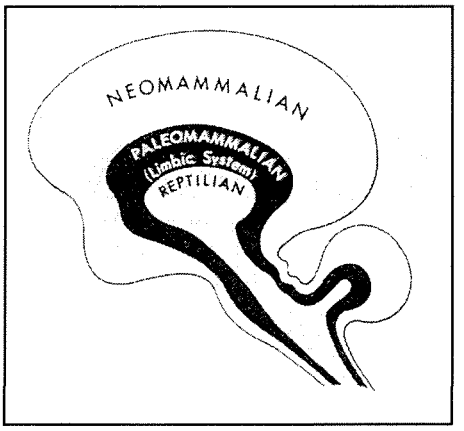

Figure 1

Where shall we start? The most distinguishing attribute of Homo sapiens is our highly developed brain. Do we all have to become neuroscientists in order to understand how our brain works? Fortunately, the answer is "no." Dr. Paul D. MacLean, who is a neuroscientist, provides us with a handy key to unlock the perplexing mysteries of human behavior: the concept of a triune brain. The concept is remarkable in that it emerged from several decades of meticulous research, yet is simple enough to be understood by and applied in the life of the average citizen.

A native of Phelps, New York, Dr. MacLean's original intention was to study philosophy, but he turned instead to medicine as a more direct means of gaining an understanding of human nature. He graduated from Yale Medical School in 1940. As a medical officer in the U.S. Army during World War II, he was placed in charge of medical as well as psychiatric wards. During a research fellowship at the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1947 he published his first paper on the "visceral brain" for which he later introduced the term "limbic system."

MacLean later returned to Yale to become associate professor of physiology. In 1957, after a research fellowship at the Institute for Physiology in Zurich, Switzerland, he joined the staff of the National Institute of Mental Health in Bethesda, Maryland. From 1971 to 1984, he served as director of the Laboratory of Brain Evolution and Behavior. He accomplished what Sigmund Freud dreamt about seventy years earlier: to assemble a neurophysiologically-based model of human mentation. An introduction to the subject was published by the University of Toronto Press under the title, *A Triune Concept of the Brain and Behaviour* (1973).[2] A detailed description of related research is available in *The Triune Brain in Evolution* published in 1990, which is accessible via the internet at www.telepath.com/skipsil/triune.html.[3]

According to MacLean, man's brain has retained the hierarchical organization of three basic types described in ascending order: (1) our reptilian brain, including the brain stem and the basal ganglia, (2) our

Gustav A. Uhlich, M.D., *a retired gastroenterologist living in Petoskey, Michigan, believes we can modify our behavior by understanding our evolved make-up.*

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paleomammalian brain or limbic system, and (3) our neomammalian forebrain or neocortex. (See Figure 1.)

For the sake of convenience, we could well refer to these parts as our "alligator," "rabbit," and "monkey" brains. We are familiar with the characteristic behavior patterns of these creatures and can easily recognize similar proclivities in our conduct as humans. Continuous interplay of these three anatomically and physiologically distinct brain types has culminated in the evolution of our triune human brain — approximately three pounds of it in the mature adult — made up of some 100 billion tightly intertwined neurons.

In popular terminology, the three sub-brains might be regarded as biological computers, each with its own special form of intelligence, subjectivity, time-measuring, memory, motor, and other functions. The "alligator" brain programs behavior according to instructions based on ancestral experiences. It plays a primary role in what are commonly referred to as instinctual patterns of behavior. The "rabbit" brain is of special interest because of clinical and experimental evidence of its important role in emotional behavior. No matter how fast man may eventually travel with his massive "monkey" brain, he will need to acquire self-knowledge that will allow him to accommodate the horse-and-buggy pace of his "alligator" and "rabbit" brain compartments.

Practical Applications

How can we best utilize the concept of a triune brain in the pursuit of our daily lives? I found an excellent example in a letter by Patrick Begg to the editor of *Northern Express* (Traverse City, Michigan) on September 27, 2001.

> *I was eating at Taco Bell Monday night, and a young couple with two children were sitting near. Nice-looking family ... Everything was okay until I heard the father speaking ...Arabic ... and I regressed 10,000 years in one moment. Suspicion, anger and resentment filled me, even as I knew it was so uncalled for and unfair. My limbic reptilian brain kicked in, full strength. And I think he felt my emotions... How do I say I am sorry?... I don't know, but I am now aware that I can most willingly participate in the drumbeat of hate ...and I will NOT. Wish me luck. Wish us all luck.*

Awareness clearly is the key issue — awareness of our potential to override impulses from our alligator and rabbit brains and to replace them, if indicated, with a rational strategy and civilized conduct. Can we project the Patrick Begg experience onto the global stage? Paul MacLean has done so for us, several decades ago:

> *Most urgent is the need to devise some way of controlling our soaring world population and thereby removing pressures that promote man's reptilian intolerance and reptilian struggle for territory. There is an accumulation of evidence with respect to several animal species that aggressiveness increases with increasing density of population, often leading to mortal combat. There is no reason to assume that the animal represented in each one of us would not be similarly affected. [However], despite the animalistic problems of communication within the triune brain, there are grounds for hope that man's neo-cortical intelligence, if combined with self-knowledge, will be able to cope with the mounting crises of our time.*

I recently had the privilege of meeting Dr. MacLean in person. With his eighty-ninth birthday just around the corner, he continues to radiate intellectual wisdom with a down-to-earth sense of humor. It took us only a few minutes to compose an appropriate battle cry for all mankind: "Let's think before we judge — Let's think before we act — Always."

NOTES

1. Garrett Hardin, "Protection, Yes. But Against Whom? For Whom?" *The Social Contract*, Volume XII, Number 1, Fall 2001, pp.19-22.

2. Paul D. MacLean, *A Triune Concept of the Brain and Behaviour: The Clarence M. Hincks Memorial Lectures, 1969,* University of Toronto Press, 1973. ISBN 0-8020-3299-0

3. Paul D. MacLean, *The Triune Brain in Evolution: Role in Paleocerebral Functions*, New York: Plenum Press, 1990. ISBN 0-306-43168-8. www.telepath.com/skipsil/triune.html.

[See also Paul D. MacLean, "The Brain's Generation Gap: Some Human Implications," *Zygon, Journal of Religion & Science,* Vol. 8, No.2, June 1973. An excerpt is reprinted on the following pages.]

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The Brain's Generation Gap

Some Human Implications

by Paul D. MacLean

There is a saying that something does not exist until you give it a name.[1] There has, of course, always been a gulf between generations, but call it by any other name, none would be more expressive for our times than "the generation gap." As with the familiar spark plug, the word gap implies a critical distance. Too wide or small a gap, and the whole social engine breaks down. The ever-critical need for an evolving and thriving society is just the right gap for sparking constructive ideas. For those of us on the older side, the problem is not just the gap but also the gas mixture. The bright spark of youth is making this increasingly clear. In calling for a cultural tune-up, young people insist that it is primarily pollution from the mixture of out-worn political, social, and commercial ideas that destroys our environment, poisons human relationships, and threatens atomic blistering of the whole world. They also point out that the twentieth-century doctrine that businesses and institutions must either continue to grow or perish no longer makes sense. It is somewhat like saying, "I want a tumor."

At the international level the most explosive issue is the problem of controlling man's reptilian intolerance and reptilian struggle for territory, while at the same time finding a means of regulating our soaring population.

It is my purpose here to call attention to another generation gap that applies to the human brain. It is a gap that is generally unfamiliar to young and old alike. Yet it exists in every one of us, and, adding to countless generations, makes the familiar generation gap seem insignificant by comparison. And it is an extremely critical gap because learning to recognize it, understand it, and live with it may be more crucial than anything else to worthwhile survival.

To understand the brain's generation gap, it is necessary to think in evolutionary terms. Propelled by our imagination which exceeds the speed of light, we will go back 250 million years to the age of reptiles, when animals which never learned to talk began to crawl into the brain of man. In evolution, the primate forebrain expands along the lines of three basic patterns characterized as reptilian, paleomammalian, and neomammalian. The result is the remarkable linkage of three brain types which are radically different in structure and chemistry and which, in an evolutionary sense, are countless generations apart. We possess, so to speak, a hierarchy of three brains in one – a triune brain.[2] Or, stated another way, we have a linkage of three biocomputers, each with its own special kind of intelligence, sense of time, memory, motor, and other functions.

Although my proposed scheme for subdividing the brain may seem simplistic, the fact remains that the three basic formations are there for anyone to see and, thanks to improved anatomical, chemical, and

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physiological techniques, stand out in clearer detail than ever before. It should be emphasized, however, that the three brain types are in no sense separate, autonomous entities, although they are capable of functioning somewhat independently (see diagram on previous page).

Man's Reptilian Brain

In discussing the three brain types we will need only a handful of anatomical terms. Let us deal first with the largest generation gap and look at the reptilian-type brain. In mammals the major counterpart of the reptilian forebrain includes a group of large ganglia which, for short, I will call the "R-complex." In ganglia the nerve cells appear to be in large clumps, whereas in cortex they are arranged in layers. The Koelle stain for cholinesterase brings out a remarkable chemical contrast between the R-complex and the two other brain types.

"Imitative behavior works in myriad ways to maintain group identity and promote group survival."

* * *

At our new Laboratory of Brain Evolution and Behavior we are investigating the role of the R-complex in natural forms of animal behavior. We are testing the hypothesis that it is basic for such genetically constituted behavior as selecting homesite, establishing and defending territory, hunting, homing, mating, forming social hierarchies, and the like. We also hope that this work will shed light on neural mechanisms underlying compulsive, repetitious, ritualistic, deceptive, and imitative forms of behavior.

The British naturalist, Eliot Howard, emphasized that the establishment of territory may be an essential preliminary to mating and breeding.[4] Ethologists have confirmed and extended his observations.[5] Ritualized, aggressive displays are used in establishing and defending territory. All kinds of trappings are used to make an aggressor look big, colorful, and menacing. In a number of species hair tufts are part of the regalia. Some tribal warriors display the hair of the armpit as a threat.[6] According to Hingston, the direction of the hair follicles on a man's shoulders indicates that he once wore a mane, giving him a bulky disguise like that of a football player.[7] All that many of us have left to show for this is gooseflesh.

The aggressive display of some reptiles and lower forms is the same as their display in courtship and mating. We have found a parallel situation in the small South American primate, the squirrel monkey.

* * *

It is a long leap from monkeys to man. Do the comparative observations have any human relevance? There is much suggestive evidence. For example, in primitive cultures in different parts of the world the territorial aggressive implications of genital display are illustrated by houseguards – stone monuments showing an erect phallus – used to mark territorial boundaries. It is as though a visual, urogenital symbol is used as a substitute for olfactory, urinary territorial markings of animals, such as the dog with a well-developed sense of smell. Gajdusek, in an article on Stone Age man,[13] has suggested a parallel between the display behavior of our squirrel monkeys and certain rituals of Melanesian tribes. Is it possible that primitive man may have learned that by covering himself he reduced unpleasant social tensions arising from the archaic aggressive impulse to display and that this, rather than modesty, has led to the civilizing influence of clothing?

The work I have described is relevant to the important question of the neural mechanisms of imitation, about which almost nothing is known. Look through current neurological texts and you will find the topic hardly mentioned. Many forms of imitation, of course, involve learning, but basic to this is a strong natural tendency to imitation. I am reminded again of Gajdusek's observations. He describes an encounter with a Stone Age tribe which had never seen Western man before. He was interested to observe that when he scratched his head or put his hand on his hip, the whole tribe did the same. Such imitation may have some protective value as signifying, "I am like you."

Imitative behavior works in myriad ways to maintain group identity and promote group survival. The case of the autistic child is an example of the

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devastating effects of an inability to imitate. Is there is anything that marks an autistic child, it is an apparent incapacity for natural imitation.

* * *

Man's Old Mammalian Brain

We turn next to the other great generation gap – the one pertaining to the old mammalian brain. Recalling that reptiles have only a rudimentary cortex, we must presume that in the lost forms between reptiles and mammals there was an expansion and elaboration of the primitive cortex. Reminiscent of the invention of television, this cortex provides the animal a better means for viewing its environment and learning to survive. In both lower and higher mammals the old cortex occupies a large convolution which Broca in 1878 called the "limbic lobe" because it surrounds the brain stem. It forms a common denominator in the brains of all mammals. In 1952, I suggested the term "limbic system" for the limbic cortex and structures of the brain stem with which it has primary connections.[16] The limbic system, let it be emphasized, represents an inheritance from lower mammals. Until thirty years ago, it was believed to be primarily an olfactory brain and hence was called the "rhinencephalon." As I will explain later, evidence has accumulated that this brain derives information in terms of emotional feelings that guide behavior required for self-preservation and preservation of the species.

The Neomammalian Brain

Compared with the limbic cortex, the new cortex is like an expanding numerator. It mushrooms late in evolution, culminating in man to become the brain of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Mother of invention and father of abstract thought, it promotes the preservation and procreation of ideas.

* * *

I have already referred to striking chemical differences of the three brain types. There is brain-wave and other evidence that some of the psychotherapeutic drugs owe their salutary effects to a selective action on the limbic system and the R-complex.

In connection with science and discovery, it is of special interest that limbic discharges may trigger eureka-type feelings expressed by such words as "this is it, the absolute truth; this is what the world is all about."[24] The feeling is free floating, being attached to no specific solution or idea. It has the quality of what most of us feel when we make a discovery or arrive at the solution to a problem. Kepler provides a vivid illustration. He was drawing a figure on the blackboard for his class "when an idea suddenly struck him with such force that he felt he was holding the key to the secret of creation in his hand."[25] Although his inspiration proved to be wrong and lingered as an *idée fixe* the rest of his life,[26] it led to the formulation of his three famous laws. Ironically, it seems that the ancient limbic system provides the ingredients for the strong affective feelings of conviction that we attach to our beliefs, regardless of whether they are true or false!

"It seems that the ancient limbic system provides the ingredients for the strong affective feelings of conviction that we attach to our beliefs, regardless of whether they are true or false!"

Before some concluding remarks, I want to emphasize again that the three basic brain types are not to be considered as separate, autonomous entities. They are extensively interconnected, but just how they are connected and function together as a triune brain is a major problem for future investigation.

Making Three Brains Operate As One

I suggested earlier that the reptilian brain is a neural repository for innate forms of behavior. Other bits of evidence indicate that with the evolution of the old and new mammalian brains, nature economically uses the reptilian brain as a storage mechanism for parroting learned forms of emotional and intellective behavior acquired through limbic and neocortical systems.[27] We are all aware, for example, that having once acquired a verbal or other skill, we can later

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repeat it, so to speak, almost instinctively. Indeed, if we stop to think how we do it – as, for example, playing a musical piece learned by heart – it may interrupt the continuity of performance. As Plutarch taught us to say, habit is "almost a second nature."

There are clinical indications that the reptilian- and old mammalian-type brains lack the neural machinery for verbal communication with these ancient cerebrotypes; [in other words] there exists in each of us an unbridgeable generation gap – a gap that makes the familiar one seem tame by comparison. But to say that [these ancient brains] lack the power of speech is not to disparage their intelligence. Nor does it mean they can be relegated to the unconscious, when in actuality they may be wide awake. The need for more harmonious survival with our animalistic selves calls for new research approaches in cryptopsychology. Among the challenges are finding better ways for coping with the communication gap and discovering more perceptive measures of human intelligence.

"Language barriers among nations present great difficulties, but the greatest language barrier lies between man and his animal brains."

At the international level, the most explosive issue is the problem of controlling man's reptilian intolerance and reptilian struggle for territory, while at the same time finding a means of regulating our soaring population. Language barriers among nations present great difficulties, but the greatest language barrier lies between man and his animal brains.[28]

Part of the poisonous fallout of today's hurry-up attitudes may be that we are getting out of step with our animalities. It seems that ever since *Sputnik* our educational leaders have been planning our existence as though we had to satisfy only our neocortex. Designed to come up with new ideas, the neocortex appears to thrive on change. With its imagination that exceeds the speed of light, the neocortex may be able to keep up with the present accelerated tempo of life through speedreading, help of computers, and other contrivances; but the two animal brains which are our constant companions move at their own slow pace. They have their own biological clocks and their own sequential, ritualistic ways of doing things that cannot be hurried. Courtship, for example, does not lend itself to the rules of speedreading. The reptilian and limbic brains have survived millions of years of evolution, and it is evident that no genetic tailoring will remove them overnight from the brain of man. Although we now anticipate public transportation at rocket speeds, we will still have to move at a horse-and-buggy pace with our animal brains. Once this is realized, we may achieve a quality of life that will bring greater contentment. Perhaps this is what today's youth have been trying to tell us.

I have not forgotten my reptilian promise to return, in conclusion, to the question of imitation. With worldwide television, the matter of imitation looms more important than ever in human affairs, not only as it applies to fads, fashions, and drug cultures, but, more significantly, to forms of mass hysteria and violence. It has become almost a dictum that "imitation rules the world." There is abundant evidence from animal behavior studies done by Calhoun, Myers, and others, that the conditions of crowding are conducive to aggression and combative behavior.[29] In addition to bringing out aggressiveness, crowding also increases the opportunities for imitation. One may therefore suppose that violent behavior can lead to a kind of vicious circle through the positive feedback of imitation. It is one of the perversities of television that it brings crowding, violence, and imitation right into the living room. It was stated recently that by the age of fourteen the average child will have seen eighteen-thousand murders on television.

* * *

Because of our scientific emphasis on the control of natural phenomena, we tend to regard ourselves as separate from, and even superior to, nature. But the fact remains that we are one of nature's experiments, and we might justly wish that it would share our guilt for the violence that we do to ourselves and the environment. Nature, indeed, sets us a terrible example not only in regard to the violence of storms,

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earthquakes, disease, and cancerous erosion, but also in exposing us on all sides to trickery, deceit, and treachery. The wonder is that man has ever been able to go straight! Indeed, if we were not part of nature, it could be said that we had surpassed nature in a sense of honesty and altruism. For where else in nature can one look for an example that "honesty is the best policy"? When we are at our best, nothing makes us more unhappy than seeing living things suffer. And nothing brings greater satisfaction than to relieve suffering or to witness the relief of suffering. Recalling that the word "altruism" was coined as recently as 1853 by Auguste Comte and that the word "empathy" was given to us by Theodor Lipps about 1900, we gain intimations that the humanitarian movement is still in evolution.

"...we find reason for hope that in the further evolution of man, human love and enlightenment will prevail over the forces of violence and destruction."

Partly on the basis of new information mentioned in this paper, I would suggest that the capacity for empathic identification with others stems from the great developments of the cingulate division of the limbic system and in articulation with a more recent expansion of the human brain, the prefrontal cortex. There are clinical indications that the prefrontal cortex provides foresight in planning for ourselves and others and that it also helps us to gain insight into the feelings of others. In the remarkable development of these structures which seem to be especially geared for promoting the welfare and preservation of the species, we find reason for hope that in the further evolution of man, human love and enlightenment will prevail over the forces of violence and destruction.

For weary mortals looking for relief from the constant drone of dismal news about the state of the world, I would suggest that they take up cerebral astronomy and study the three great galaxies of the triune brain. ■

NOTES

[Numbers of notes are those in the original text. Lapses in numbering are due to editing. Copies of the full text are available on request.]

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National Security and Free Trade

Can they co-exist?

by Edwin S. Rubenstein

The United States is the world leader of the movement to eliminate tariff barriers and other obstacles to the free international flow of goods, technology, and capital. The results have been spectacular. Since signing the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1989 U.S. imports from Canada have jumped 87 percent. Mexico signed on to NAFTA in 1994; since then the dollar volume of trade across our southern border has doubled to at least $1.4 billion a day. President Bush now wants to extend NAFTA to the rest of Latin America.

But since September 11 border security has threatened the free trade movement in a way that even the anti-globalization protesters in Seattle last year failed to achieve. U.S. customs inspectors have been ordered to conduct more extensive searches and identity checks, causing huge delays for businesses dependent on transporting their goods across the border. The Administration is beefing up the border staff while funding new technology – from computerized preclearance systems to Mack-truck style X-ray vehicles for scanning tractor-trailers – that has been stalled for years. While these procedures are costly, they are just the tip of the iceberg. When you add in higher security costs, airport delays, supply-chain breaks, and heightened internet security, the security bill for U.S. companies this year is estimated at $150 billion, or 1.5 percent of GDP.

None of the terrorists who took part in the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon entered the United States through Canada or Mexico. But even as the National Guard prepares to send 1,600 more troops to the borders, anti-terrorism experts and many lawmakers are concerned that terrorists could take advantage of porous borders along thousands of miles of our international frontier. Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge says U.S. borders are disturbingly vulnerable to terrorists and complains that there is no "direct line of responsibility for agencies charged with protecting them."

Cross border truck traffic represents an obvious security threat. According to the Department. of Transportation 11.6 million trucks crossed the border into the U.S. in 2000 – 7.1 million from Canada, and 4.5 million from Mexico. That works out to 517 trucks per hour coming in from Mexico, 805 per hour from Canada . Since the inception of NAFTA in 1994 in-coming truck traffic is up 49.9 percent overall – rising 42.2 percent at the northern, and 63.8 percent at the southern border. By comparison, total U.S. GDP rose just 27 percent over the same period.

Detroit is the busiest entry point along the Canadian border. In 2000 1.8 million trucks, about 26 percent of all incoming Canadian crossings, came in though that city. Buffalo, with 1.2 million, was second. Laredo is the busiest southern entry point. In 2000 1.5 million trucks came in through Laredo – about one-third of all incoming Mexican truck traffic. El Paso, with 720,400 trucks, was a distant second.

Cross-border truck traffic has increased rapidly in large part due to increased industrial production in the U.S. and Canada and the trade liberalization measures with both Canada and Mexico. In recent years truck traffic has grown faster than industrial production. Much of this reflects the expanded use of "just-in-time" shipment system which requires more frequent shipments of smaller quantities. This trend will continue to push truck traffic up both within the U.S. and across international borders.

While the volume of cross-border traffic doubled in some locations, the number of U.S. customs inspectors hasn't budged since NAFTA's 1994 launch. The result has been a shocking gap in security procedures. Prior to September 11 less than 10 percent of the trucks coming

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in via Laredo were inspected, according to newspaper reports. Of the thousands of trucks that cross daily, customs officials say they might flag 200 to be X-rayed. Of those maybe 20 are actually unloaded and sorted through. It can take 3 to 4 hours to unload and reload a truck trailer. Police say drug sniffing dogs are responsible for 95 percent of the drug seizures along the border. It's not clear if such dogs are as effective in detecting explosive materials.

Airborne cargo, while still a minor segment of the total import picture, is growing rapidly. In 1977 (the latest year for which data are available), cargo planes carried 4.5 million tons of goods into the U.S., just ?? percent of total cargo shipments. However, airborne freight tonnage rose by 42.6 percent between 1993 and 1997 – nearly three-times as fast as overall import tonnage. As with air passengers, air cargo will require more security personnel in the future.

Meanwhile, a potentially larger threat looms in the 18 million cargo containers that arrive at U.S. ports each year. The United States receives 46 percent of its imported goods in seaborne cargo containers that are usually loaded directly onto trucks or trains for transport inland. According to spokesman Dan Dewell, the Coast Guard had been inspecting only about 2 percent of all incoming containers before the September hijackings and only about 20,000 high-risk hazardous materials containers a year.

In February the Transportation Department's inspector general ordered a nationwide survey of cargo container security measures at U.S. seaports. The concern is that an incoming container might be used to deliver biological or chemical weapons. Of ever greater concern is the possibility that international terrorists such as Al Qaeda could smuggle a "nuke in a box" and other weapons of mass destruction in one of the more than 50,000 containers that arrive in the U.S. each day.

Seaborne containers are huge. The most common type – the 40 foot container -has the following dimensions: 40' Long x 8' Wide x 8 ½' High. That works out to a carrying capacity of 2,720 cubic feet. By comparison, a typical cardboard box used by movers in the U.S. has dimensions 16 ½ inches long x 13 inches wide x 13 ½ inches high. That works out to 2, 896 cubic inches, or 1.67 cubic feet. So a 40' container can hold 1,629 standard packing boxes, enough to hold the entire contents of many households.

Los Angeles and Long Beach, California are the nation's largest container ports, handling an estimated 1.95 million and 1.92 million containers, respectively, in 2000. The Port of New York was third busiest, with 1.20 million 40' containers in 2000.

From Tom Ridge on down, U.S. security officials are increasingly focused on the threat posed by seaborne containers. U.S. representatives at the International Maritime Organization meeting in London recently pressed for worldwide adoption of sweeping anti-terrorist safeguards, including the installation of transponder-like identification systems on all ship sand requiring background checks on all crews.

David Barnes, spokesman for the Transportation Department's inspector general, said their evaluation is aimed primarily at U.S. Coast Guard port security measures taken since the September 11 terrorist attacks. He said it will also involve the U.S. Customs Service, local port authorities, shipping industry associations, and freight handlers. Barnes said the last such survey was conducted in 1998.

In a presentation prepared for the international maritime meeting, the U.S. noted that many ships have or will have an automatic identification system for short-range tracking, with a range of up to 15 miles for ship-to-ship contact and up to 30 miles for ship-to-shore. To better track possible terrorist use of ships on the high seas, the U.S. is urging the development of a long-range identification system in which ships would update their positions to receiving stations ashore two to four times an hour.

The U.S. is also seeking a requirement for ships, off-shore oil rigs and ports to develop individual security plans; for every ship to have a designated security officer on board; and for crews to have background checks and carry identification. The goal is the issuance of seafarer identity documents that will allow the identity of the seafarer to be positively verified through biometrics on the document, such as finger print, retina scan, etc.

The Administration is also lobbying for the right to inspect and seal seaborne containers even before they leave foreign ports. But this tactic has already fanned anti-Americanism north of the border. Members of Canada's governing Liberal Party are calling it capitulation. And Maude Barlow, chair of the Council of Canadians, bristles at "being asked to harmonize our laws and zip-lock North America into one big security zone. Will there be a country called Canada left?"

To which we might ask: Will there be an America left if we do nothing? ■

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Terrorism and Immigration

by Richard D. Lamm

September 11, 2001 is the date on which the nature of warfare changed. It is not enough to say – as many do – that "everything changed" or that "the world will never be the same." We owe it to our country and each other to be specific and comprehensive. We need to assess what we learned and speculate and debate what we have yet to learn. The lessons we do not learn from September 11 will come back to haunt us.

I would suggest the most important factor that changed on September 11 was the type of warfare that we must protect ourselves against. One of the most important but most neglected subjects of the new national agenda is the relationship between immigration and terrorism. The nineteen Islamic fundamentalists who wrought the destruction of September 11 and killed over 3,000 innocent people were all foreigners who had been in the United States from a week to three years. They apparently all entered the U.S. legally, though some of their visas had expired before September 11, 2001. No official of the U.S. knew where they were, what they were doing, nor did any alarm bells go off when they overstayed their visas. This was not unique, as approximately one-half of the 8 to 11 million illegal aliens in the U.S. entered with valid visas but overstayed their legal duration.

Gary Hart and his National Commission on Terrorism warned of this immigration/terrorism relationship over a year ago, concluding in a 2000 report that, "In spite of elaborate immigration laws and the efforts of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the United States is, de facto, a country of open borders."

We must understand that the border is a critical tool for protecting America and we have to recognize and admit to ourselves how vulnerable we are. According to an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* we have 86 football stadiums that seat more than 60,000 people and 10 motor speedways with capacity of over 100,000 spectators. The Indianapolis Speedway seats more than 250,000. We have 50 of the 100 tallest buildings in the world and the Mall of America gets 600,000 visitors a week. What good is the best airport security if our borders are open and we present targets like these?

The actions of September 11 were acts of war carried out against our civilian population by foreign civilians who came here legally and who lived, played, worked, and went to school in the United States. There is every reason to suspect that a number of additional terrorists are here in the U.S. right now. Many more have vowed to come here and commit their own acts of terror. Thousands of Islamic schools in various parts of the world are teaching millions of impressionable children to "hate America" and that we are "The Great Satan." A chorus of voices warns us that there will be additional acts of terrorism on American soil and that these terrorists are either hiding in plain sight or seeking lawful admission. We ignore the immigration lessons of September 11 at our great peril.

We face a ruthless, fanatical foe that flies civilian airplanes into buildings and is dedicated to killing Americans. In other wars the nation had to deal with domestic security, but as an extension of some foreign war. The new reality is that America is now the battlefield and every

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Richard D. Lamm *is the former governor of Colorado. This address was delivered to the Franklin L. Burns School of Real Estate and Construction Management, Daniels College of Business, for a seminar entitled "Real Estate – Can We Be Secure?" Denver, Colorado, January 17, 2002.*

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American is a potential target. The problem is larger than "foreigners" of course. Let us not forget that Timothy McVeigh was an American and the FBI's best guess is that the anthrax attacks were most likely domestic terrorism.

The border is an important tool in preventing terrorism. As every house has to have a door, every country has to have a border. We have been singing, "We are the World" more that we have been singing "America The Beautiful." It is now imperative that we better monitor who we admit into this country, and insure that people honor the terms of their admission. We must monitor *whom* we admit, *where* they are, *whether* they are going to the schools they were admitted to attend, and we must know *when* they leave or don't leave. The INS admits that there are 300,000 foreigners who have been ordered out of the country but have disappeared before they could be deported. THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND: that's as many people as live in Ft. Collins.

Interpol and our own intelligence people have found that the twentieth terrorist was not able to enter the U.S. from Germany because the U.S. refused him a visa. The border worked; the score: one out of twenty terrorists coming here to do us harm. We should be thankful for that one, but this is not a good score. Because of that one visa denial, we can reasonably speculate that the plane that crashed in Pennsylvania missed its Washington D.C. target because it only had four terrorists (instead of five) and that Todd Beamer and his "let's roll" brave band were able to frustrate the fourth plane's unidentified target in Washington, D.C. – albeit at the cost of their own lives.

"The border is an important tool in preventing terrorism. As every house has to have a door, every country has to have a border."

Immigration reform will not solve the problem of terrorism, but this problem will not be solved without immigration reform. We talk a lot about non-immigration solutions to terrorism that are not realistic. According to the same *Atlantic Monthly* article, we would need 14,000 air marshals to cover every domestic flight, which is more than the total number of special agents in the FBI. We can run but we can't hide from the fact that we have an immigration/terrorist problem. We cannot fully protect America once people enter this country. It is now clear that all hijackers had documents and came in at a U.S. port of entry. Their names were checked against a "watch list" and apparently no alarms went off.

We must do better. We must better evaluate the potential for harm that comes with visitors, students and immigrants. I suggest this visa part of the problem has at least two parts: (1) that many students and visitors received their visas in a country where it was impossible for American officials to do an adequate background check; (2) that the U.S. consular offices worldwide are understaffed and cannot adequately do background checks even if the sending country cooperates.

America had about 500 million border crossings last year, 350 million of them non-U.S. citizens. Over seven million visas were issued to foreigners last year and another 2.4 million applicants for visas were denied. Most of the 31 million foreigners who enter the U.S. temporarily each year do so without visas under reciprocal visa waiver policies that permit nationals of twenty-nine countries to enter the U.S. for up to ninety days without visas. One of the hijackers was a recently-naturalized French citizen who entered under this waiver program. No visas are required for Mexicans or Canadians entering the U.S. with Border Crossing Cards that permit limited travel in the U.S.

What To Do?

First, I suggest we pass into federal law a proposal of Senator Diane Feinstein who submitted a bill for a six-month moratorium on visas from countries which sponsor terrorists. In 1998, America issued 564,683 student visas including over 7,999 from

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Saudi Arabia, 4,500 from Pakistan, 2,000 from Jordan, and 1,600 from Egypt. I think it is a reasonable question whether we are doing or even can do adequate background checks on persons from these terrorist-sponsoring countries. While a moratorium on visas pending a review of the procedure for the issuance of visas seems only common sense to most of us, America's universities, including my own, vehemently protested this legislation and it died. It should be revived. How could we possibly take the risk of giving a student or tourist visa to someone from Iran, Iraq, Syria, Sudan and Libya? Why not at least a six-month moratorium? If Americans have to wait in long lines at airport security, it is not unreasonable to make people from these countries wait longer for their visas so we can be reasonably sure they will not do us harm.

Related to this, America needs an increase in consular officers assigned to issuing visas and increased scrutiny and background checks for each applicant. There are U.S. embassies in some foreign countries where less than five minutes is devoted on average per applicant.

The second way that illegal immigrants enter the country is through the "back door" of slipping across our border. The United States has 93,000 miles of coast line in addition to a 2000-mile border with Mexico and a 4000-mile border with Canada. There are 400 border agents on the Canadian border to cover 3 shifts and 4000 miles. We have Swiss-cheese borders without adequate policing.

The gargantuan number of illegal aliens who come (mostly to find jobs, not engage in terror) undercuts national security and border control. The Clinton administration, with the tacit approval of much of corporate America), substantially crippled the interior enforcement of our laws against illegal immigration. We must better protect ourselves against illegal immigration so we can better protect ourselves against terrorists. Even though the vast majority of the illegal aliens come seeking jobs, the enormous numbers of illegals prevent the U.S. from coming close to knowing who is legally in this country and who is not. It is essential to identify and remove the millions of aliens who enter legally and then stay on illegally, as well as those who enter illegally from the start. If we can deny jobs to illegal aliens, we will not eliminate but we will go a long way towards reducing illegal immigration.

For those who over-stay their visas we need a comprehensive ID reform that includes machine-readable visas and documents for all entrants to the U.S. to minimize forged entry documents, and a database of entry and exit information. An electronic work eligibility document will make it more difficult for unauthorized aliens to work and support themselves while in the U.S. Several pilot programs have proven successful and must be made mandatory in all work places by Congress.

What do we do about illegal immigrants who sneak across our border? I believe that border enforcement is not enough. I believe that we also need a national ID card. There is a simple and reliable system already in effect in Germany, Austria, France, Greece, Spain, Hong Kong, Belgium and the Netherlands. Every citizen and lawful resident would be required to obtain a tamper-proof national identification card. It would be encoded with some type of biometric data – a fingerprint, retina scan, or voice pattern – and have a hologram, like we see today on most drivers' licenses. Fingerprints or a retina scan are much harder to fake or forge than a picture. This ID will not only help us dramatically cut down illegal immigration, but will help with the growing problem of identity theft.

"I believe that border enforcement is not enough. I believe that we also need a national ID card."

After a certain date, ID cards would help identify people here illegally two ways. First, it will be impossible for people without ID cards to remain unseen throughout the American landscape. They would not be able to get on a

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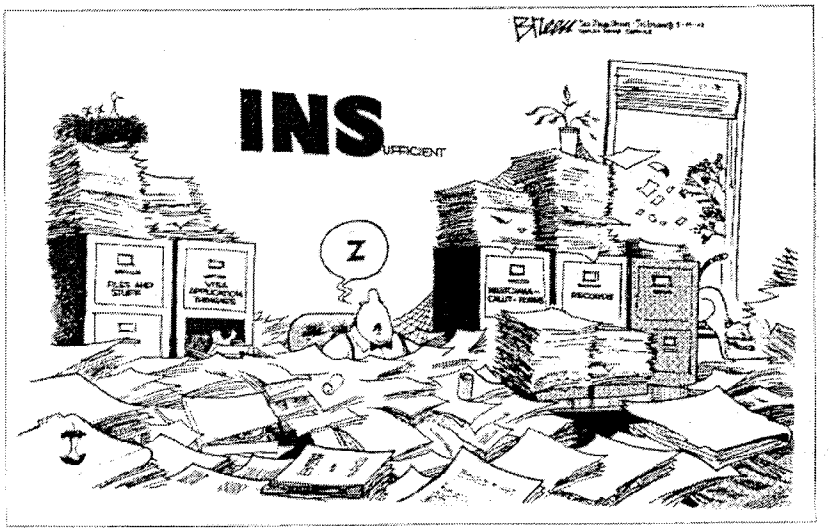
plane, collect federal benefits, open a bank account, obtain health care, cash a check, or get a job without a national ID. This is how most European countries help control their borders. For a foreigner, not having an ID card would be grounds for deportation. For all stops, detentions and arrests, police would require ID cards.

It is not adequate merely to have to show a drive's licenses or equivalent ID's issued by the state. Three of the nineteen September 11 terrorists had Virginia ID's-issued under a permissive Virginia policy. I believe me must adopt a national standard for driver's license issuance and design. All states must protect these vital identity documents by cross-referencing them with the Social Security database and adopting anti-tampering laws.

We may choose to start with some sort of voluntary ID issued under uniform rules by states on a voluntary basis. This might be an alternative or a first step. A separate line at security gates could be available for those with a proper ID having a biometric identifier. If you wanted to avoid the long line, you would get a government issued ID.

Understand that all U.S. citizens would also have to acquire and show the national identification card. For the average U.S. citizen, it would be little different from what it is now. When you get a job, cash a check, get on a plane, or collect a benefit, you will have to show your ID card instead of your driver's license. Police would still need reasonable suspicion to stop anyone. It would save American citizens billions in tax and welfare fraud and identity theft. It is not a silver bullet against terrorism; there is no silver bullet. It would not catch Timothy McVeigh or other citizen terrorists, but it would help us to start to get a handle on who is in our country legally.



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Then there is the question of legal immigration. In 1998, the United States took in 7,883 immigrants from Iran, 2,220 from Iraq, 4,831 from Egypt, 13,094 from Pakistan, 2,840 from Syria, and 166 from Libya. The same question applies here as it does in the matter of visas: can we really do an adequate background check from places like Libya or Sudan?

One of the most intriguing issues to me is the question of profiling. There is a lot of jerking of knees on the subject, but it seems to me that we should pay more attention to someone with a visa from a terrorist-supporting country than from Hong Kong or Peru. It would be public policy malpractice not to. It would not make sense in the name of non-profiling to check everyone equally. Some people are obviously more of a security risk than others. It may well be that an elderly Thai woman with a visa might cause us harm, but it is far less likely than someone with a visa from Libya, Iraq or the Sudan – or someone wearing an Osama bin Laden T-shirt.

Conclusion

The famous military strategist Von Clauwitz observed that "generals always fight the last war." Are we not doing the very same thing? We are thousands of times more likely to be invaded by a foreign terrorist than a foreign country. We need a military but we also need a border. The front line in this phase of warfare is the border. We ignore it at our peril. ■

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Enforcement of Immigration Law

New website reviews legal decisions

by Juan Mann

Congress giveth, the EOIR ignoreth, the ACLU and AILA attacketh, and the federal courts taketh away.

As illegal aliens and their smugglers trample the ranch lands of the American southwest, the laws that are supposed to detain and deport them also are being trampled in a less visible but no less unrelenting assault. The Immigration and Nationality Act is fighting for its life on a daily basis against relentless legal attacks in the federal courts and before the Immigration Court hearing system within the United States Department of Justice (DOJ).

While the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) gets a public flogging, the real battle for the integrity of our immigration laws as drafted by Congress is being waged behind closed doors. The Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR), with its Immigration Court system of perpetual hearings and appeals to federal court provides the perfect forum for a gradual chipping away of any immigration law enforcement provisions passed by Congress. The Immigration Court problem requires the creation of a completely new framework for the removal of illegal aliens and criminal alien residents from the United States. The current litigation-based model for the deportation of every single illegal alien in the country is an invitation for disaster. Besides being completely unworkable, the EOIR framework of endless litigation encourages legal assaults against the clear will expressed by our elected representatives in trying to craft a coherent immigration policy for this country. As a companion to any streamlined immigration legislation that would actually deport illegal aliens and criminal alien residents, the EOIR should be abolished, with its Immigration Court system shut down to stop the immigration litigation barrage.

If the EOIR's Immigration Court survives, the Immigration and Nationality Act will stand little chance for survival in whatever form originally intended by Congress. If the federal courts continue to craft immigration policy in reviewing EOIR appellate cases, any good work of Congress for immigration reform will be undone before the President's signature has dried on the legislation. If Congress is serious about reforming the Immigration Act, its first order of business should be to abolish the EOIR. Maybe then the INS, or whatever law enforcement agency takes its place, will finally be able to do its job of enforcing the Immigration Act.

Saving the Immigration Act

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, and its various amendments, make up the spaghetti bowl of arcane language, convoluted standards and perverse incentives that pass for the law of the land in immigration law enforcement. The Congress of the United States and the many Presidents who signed this legislation must shoulder the blame and receive the faint praise for immigration laws on the books now. But there is more blame to go around for the current state of affairs. As if the massive Immigration Act doesn't have enough problems

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Juan Mann *is the proprietor of the only immigration reform web site that exposes the bureaucracy of the Executive Office of Immigration Review (EOIR) at www.geocities.com/deportaliens/index.html. He dedicates his work to the principle that one man's opinion can make a difference.*

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already, perhaps the greatest threat to a logical American immigration policy and its consistent enforcement really lies in after-the-fact legal mischief through the federal government and the federal courts. The bottom line is that the best enforcement provisions of our immigration laws are being rewritten by the unelected.

The prime suspects for this erosion of immigration law enforcement are pro-alien social activists among the Department of Justice's own Immigration Court judges of the EOIR, their fellow travelers within the EOIR's appellate body known as the Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA), the U.S. Courts of Appeals (notably the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals on the left coast), and even some recent shocking 5-4 immigration decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States. But liberal judges can't do it alone. They are, as always, aided and abetted by thousands of immigration trial lawyers from the American Immigration Lawyers Association (AILA), the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and various alien "rights" groups and ethnic lobbies. With this army of attorneys arrayed against it, the poor Immigration Act doesn't stand a chance. Any enforcement provisions left in the law that manage to survive the compromises of Congress, soon will be turned into Swiss cheese by pro-alien litigators and their ideological compatriots on the bench.

1996 Anti-Terrorism Immigration Reforms

As a somewhat belated reaction to the February 26, 1993, bombing of the World Trade Center, Congress passed very enforcement-minded immigration legislation three years later called the "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) of 1996." President Clinton signed the "anti-terrorism" immigration bill on April 24, 1996.

But the second session of the 104th Congress was not through yet. The immigration reformers were on a roll. Later that same year Congress passed even greater changes to the Immigration Act called the "Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996." The IIRIRA, known as the 1996 Act, was signed by President Clinton on September 30, 1996. It became effective on April 1, 1997. The IIRIRA cut back on relief available for criminal aliens and known foreign terrorists, and called for the mandatory detention of more classes of convicted criminals who are foreign nationals.

The IIRIRA also created very valuable "administrative removal" proceedings under its new Section 235(b), which so far have managed to withstand the legal onslaught of the pro-alien lobby (knock on wood). These provisions allow aliens to be turned back at ports of entry, with the Immigration and Naturalization Service sending them right back to their native country without being released into the United States, and without reaching the safe legal haven (the briar patch) of the Immigration Court system. The administrative removal provisions of Section 235(b) may very well be the savior of our country's immigration law enforcement system. Hopefully, administrative removals will become the future of a new streamlined immigration system in a world without the mismanagement of the INS and the needless over-lawyered bureaucracy of the EOIR. But for now that world is just a dream.

The IIRIRA also brought cosmetic changes to the Immigration Court system by renaming the federal government's "deportation" and "exclusion" proceedings to kinder and gentler "removal" proceedings under the new Section 240 of the Act. The new name would be just about the only part of the 1996 Act left unscathed. Before President Clinton's signature dried on the 1996 AEDPA "anti-terrorism" bill and the IIRIRA immigration reforms, the legal vandals inside and outside government were already planning their campaign to "fix '96" and roll-back the immigration enforcement work of the 104th Congress.

Six Years of Slow Death

Now, on the six-year anniversary of the "anti-terrorism" immigration bill (April 24, 2002), contrary to the intent of Congress, most of the immigration law enforcement teeth of the 1996 Act have been whittled away. The campaign by liberal cause lawyers

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waged in the federal courts and in the Immigration Court system within the Department of Justice, has taken its toll. Most of the enforcement gains of the AEDPA and IIRIRA, especially in the area of immigration detention, have been scaled back to a shadow of their former glory, or simply abolished by judicial fiat. The end result is that the criminal aliens have won. The attorneys of the ACLU and AILA have declared victory. More convicted foreign nationals with green cards have been released back into our communities. More permanent resident aliens have been allowed to keep their green cards in spite of committing a laundry list of crimes. More illegal aliens have been released on immigration bonds and ordered "removed" only on paper in their absence. But all of the legal dismemberment of the 1996 Act wouldn't have happened without the open door of the Immigration Court system and its bureaucrats at the EOIR, the BIA and the Immigration Courts. The federal courts simply carried on the carnage started by the EOIR's government lawyers in robes at the Immigration Court, granting even more relief to more classes of illegal aliens and criminal alien residents.

Other than the bright spot of streamlined Section 235(b) administrative removals, there has been little to cheer about in immigration law enforcement since the 1996 "anti-terrorism" immigration legislation. Most of the legal erosion of immigration law has been for the worse, with more criminal aliens being detained less, and avoiding "removal" more frequently for a greater variety of crimes. The detention provisions for illegal aliens and criminal alien residents are a frequent and well-worn target. So much so, that it is getting next to impossible for the United States government to deport a convicted criminal alien resident, unless the alien agrees to give up his green card and leave. The way the system is set up, with unnecessary formalism and hyper-litigation from the start in the EOIR's Immigration Court, all the way up to the Supreme Court of the United States, this country literally makes a federal case out of the deportation of every single illegal alien on our shores. The winners of these legal battles are foreign nationals with no legal status in our country and permanent resident aliens who are convicted criminals. Under the current immigration law, all aliens in Immigration Court removal proceedings have the "right" to appeal their case for as long as it takes, all the way to the Supreme Court of the United States if they can, to avoid being deported to their native countries.

"This country literally makes a federal case out of the deportation of every single illegal alien on our shores."

With three million, eight million or twelve million illegal aliens in the United States now (no one knows exactly), and countless more removable criminal alien residents, it is absolute folly to believe that the current over- lawyered framework of Immigration Court could handle even a fraction of the workload of deporting aliens. The Immigration Court system, with its endless menu of hearings and appeals all the way up to the Supreme Court of the United States, would utterly crash of its own weight if all of the removable aliens in the country were actually apprehended by the beleaguered Immigration and Naturalization Service. The EOIR's Immigration Court in the Department of Justice is a system designed for failure. It is not designed to enforce the Immigration Act by efficient and expeditious removal of illegal aliens and criminal alien residents from the United States. It is a system designed for the benefit of the aliens in it, the trial lawyers profiting from it, and the army of pro-alien litigators using the federal courts to smash any enforcement provisions left in the Immigration Act.

Stench from the Bench

I have compiled a brief survey of recent legal mischief by the federal courts and the Immigration Court system. Unfortunately, this list is just a brief snapshot of some of the more damaging pro-alien rulings

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that litter the landscape, making immigration law enforcement tougher and tougher every day for the federal government. The legal assault against the 1996 "anti-terrorism" immigration legislation has rendered Congress' original work largely unrecognizable, as criminal aliens and their lawyers have scored victory after victory. Here are their triumphs:

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT

Zadvydasv v. Davis

The Supreme Court allows criminal aliens who have already been ordered deported to be released back into America if the aliens' home countries will not accept them. Someone please ask Justice Stephen G. Breyer if he would like them living in his neighborhood.

INS v. St. Cyr and Calcano-Martinez v. INS

The Supreme Court allows more criminal aliens the chance to keep their green cards, against the will of Congress. With an assist to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, this criminal alien amnesty creates relief from deportation where there was none before. The Court resurrected Section 212(c) of the Immigration Act by creating their own form of relief – Section 212(C)yr, despite the clear language of Section 440(d) of the AEDPA and Section 304 of the 1996 IIRIRA. The INS rushed to expand the ruling even more through policy, making more criminal aliens eligible to stay in the country. Shame on you, Justice Anthony Kennedy! You should know better.

COURTS OF APPEALS:

THE NINTH CIRCUIT

Kim v. Ziglar

Convicted criminal resident aliens can be released back into society, contrary to the clear will of Congress who wanted the INS to keep them locked up for safe-keeping until being deported.

Hernandez-Montiel v. INS

Gay Mexican transvestite granted political asylum in the United States by your friendly neighborhood appellate judges of the Ninth Circuit.

Rivera-Sanchez

Conviction for transporting or selling drugs is not a "drug trafficking" offense.

Richards-Diaz

The first judicial expansion of Section 212(c) relief, that is until *INS v. St. Cyr* came along.

USA v. Robles-Rodriguez

State drug convictions are not drug convictions.

Trinidad-Aquino

Repeat drunk driving convictions with a sentence of over one year are not "crimes of violence."

THE SEVENTH CIRCUIT

Parra v. Perryman

Alien convicted of aggravated sexual assault prevails.

THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

Hernandez-Avalos

Repeat drunk driving convictions with a sentence of over one year are not "crimes of violence."

THE THIRD CIRCUIT

Patel v. Zemski and *Sabrija Radoncic v. Zemski*

Convicted criminal resident aliens can be released back into society, contrary to the clear will of Congress who wanted the INS to keep them locked up for safe-keeping until being deported.

THE BOARD OF IMMIGRATION APPEALS

The problem with tracking the movements of the BIA "members" and their decisions is that the majority of BIA decisions are designated as "unpublished." No one really knows exactly how much damage the BIA has caused by granting relief to aliens who should have been deported under the law. Their "unpublished" cases never see the light of day and are not regarded as precedent decisions. But even though the BIA is on its best behavior trying to look judicial in the published cases, called Interim Decisions, their true colors come shining through occasionally. They just can't help it.

Interim Decision #3455

The Min Song case opens the floodgates for "aggravated felon" criminal alien residents to keep their green cards.

Interim Decision # 3432

BIA logic: "burglary of a vehicle" is not a "burglary offense."

Interim Decision #3309

The BIA tries to figure out which crimes aliens commit are "particularly serious" crimes. But aren't they all?

Interim Decision #3428

Alien's conviction for unlawful use of a firearm is no obstacle to keeping his green card. ■

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Terrorism and Lapses in Enforcement

Secure visas as a first line of defense

by Frank Kavanaugh

Among the intelligence and law-enforcement failures that preceded September 11, perhaps no oversight was as glaring as the lapses in immigration enforcement that enabled terrorists to obtain and overstay simple visas.

Rep. Thomas G. Tancredo (R-Colo), chairman of the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus, got to the heart of the matter. "Porous borders cause enormous problems and completely prevent our ability to maintain any kind of security," he said. "The defense of the nation begins with the defense of its borders."

Illegal immigrants number at least seven million, possibly eight million, and that population is growing by 500,000 a year, according to the 2000 census. The new total showed that the number of "undocumented" immigrants had at least doubled since 1990, as millions of immigrants arrived during the boom years of the last decade. More than seven million tourists, business visitors, foreign students and temporary workers arrived last year as non-immigrants. But the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) acknowledges that it lacks a reliable tracking system to determine how many of these visitors left the country after their visa expired.

Each year there are 300 million border crossings into the United States. Most of these are legitimate visitors, but we lack the ability to track them all. Among the seven million, 500,000 foreign nationals entered on student visas. The foreign-student visa system is under-regulated, subject to deception and other problems that leave it wide open to abuse by terrorists and other criminals. Why was Mohammed Atta, the leader of the September 11 attacks, readmitted through Miami airport on January 10, 2001, even though his visa had expired? Atta had traveled freely to and from the United States during the preceding two years. One of the nineteen hijackers, Hani Hanjour, had traveled on a student visa, failed to show up for school, and remained in the country illegally.

In retrospect, it is clear that it was a major mistake to admit foreign nationals and then fail to track their whereabouts. Most of the time we have no clue as to who is here, what they are doing, or if they have complied with their visas. As many as 225,000 illegal aliens settle in the United States each year. Most fade into the woodwork, and INS policy has been to leave illegals alone – including visa overstays.

We have no national system to ensure that the half-million foreigners holding student visas are, in fact, currently enrolled in the school to which they were admitted. Their U.S. sponsors are 15,000 universities, colleges, and vocational schools, such as those that offer aviation and other specialized training. The INS says it does not know the whereabouts of some 314,000 persons who have been ordered deported.

Public sentiment now leans to guarding the nation's borders more tightly against illegal immigrants, and to preventing those who enter legally from

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overstaying their visas. A Zogby International poll shows that Americans think a dramatic increase in border control and greater efforts to enforce immigration laws would help reduce the chance of further attacks. A convert to the new model is Doris Meissner who, as INS commissioner from 1993-2000, consistently argued for more immigration. Now, she says, in the best Washington finger-pointing style, that U.S. border control begins with the U.S. embassies and consulates abroad that screen for and issue the visas.

It's scandal that the fingerprint databases of the INS and the FBI aren't fully compatible and thus cannot share information vital to our nation's security. Names are compared with terrorist watch lists, but organizations such as the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) want deeper background checks on applicants. We need better intelligence sharing, including creation of a joint INS/State Department/FBI/CIA real-time lookout database on foreigners in the United States. Technology can solve the problem with an integrated information system.

Would such a system have provided the INS with the CIA warning issued in late August that two men with al Queda ties had entered the United States. With such access might the INS have detained one man while the FBI tracked the other, whose name and San Diego address could have turned up in a search of the California Department of Motor Vehicles database? Might that address have led agents to the other San Diego-based terrorist who participated in the September 11 attacks?

We need to be able to verify the identities of people seeking to enter our country. Biometric technology in the form of "smart cards" or high-tech visa cards can use fingerprints and facial recognition or retina scans to match individuals to the identities they claim. The cost in equipment and personnel will be high. American taxpayers will have to bear part of the burden, but it surely isn't too much to ask that those seeking to enter our country pay the bulk of the expense.

Another tracking tool would be a computerized system to allow employers to verify whether a new hire has the right to work in the United States. Such a system would counteract the thriving "business" of forged social security cards and birth certificates. The INS has several pilot programs in this direction, but opposition has arisen from pro-immigration organizations as well as from employers seeking cheap labor. Every change will be expensive. But we are now in a post-September 11 America that looks differently on the real costs of the status quo.

In short, tougher document requirements are a must. Federal identification papers such as pilots' licenses, visas, and immigration work authorization cards will have to be fraud- and tamper-resistant. They will have to contain biometric data along with a visa's expiration date. In fact, the INS was ordered in 1996 to develop a tracking system and was given until December 20, 2003, to complete it. Current Commissioner James Ziglar has said the system can be operational a year earlier for an extra $36.8 billion from Congress. That money is likely to be forthcoming. As Sen. Diane Feinstein (D-Calif) points out,

> *We recognize America's openness to newcomers contributes to our strength as a nation, but in these unprecedented times we have seen terrorists take advantage of that openness. We must now restore balance to our immigration policy by adding some prudent steps to ensure Americans will be safe at home.*

Powerful special interests are wary of any move to clamp down on foreign visitors. Tourists from abroad pump billions of dollars into the country every year. Some labor sectors, especially technology, benefit from educated, highly skilled foreign workers, although demand has slackened along with the economy. The half-million foreign students are a significant source of income and diversity for American campuses.

Nevertheless, it seems clear that the INS will be unable to reform itself and safeguard the homeland without a pause in the pace of immigration. The least that Americans have a right to expect is a well-organized system for managing the movement of those seeking to enter our sovereign nation. ■

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An India/Pakistani War

It could come from unbalanced population growth

by Donald A. Collins

Under the rather arcane title, "The Security Logic of High Sex-Ratio Societies," a stunning article by two researchers – Valerie M. Hudson at Brigham Young University, and Andrea M. Den Boer at the University of Kent in the UK – points to "a variable that will become highly significant in Asia within the next two decades. That variable is the young adult sex ratio. The sex ratios of many Asian nations, including the two who are now facing off (again), Pakistan and India, are being skewed in favor of males on a scale unprecedented in human history."

Soon to appear in the distinguished periodical, *International Security*, the article explores the "violent dynamics of ... high sex-ratio populations," clearly identifying the potential security dangers for our planet which have resulted from the rapidly growing populations of the past hundred years and the bias favoring male children over females in key Asian nations.

"Normal birth sex ratios range between 105-107 males per 100 female births." Their data for seven Asian countries (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, China, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Taiwan) show "from 66 to 86 million of the missing females in Asia are attributed to the above"; but two of them, "China and India together, contribute to between 61 and 68 million." Many now feel the number is higher, perhaps 100 million. And the ratio in recent years has increased rapidly in both. For example, in Punjab, the sex ratio of children from zero to six years of age is now 126 males to every 100 females.

While "sex selection" is illegal in both India and China, the "director of the Demography Institute at Beijing University freely admits that there exists 'the loss of female births due to illegal prenatal determination and sex-selective abortion, creating an unbalanced population sex structure ... resulting in potentially serious social problems.' Remember, China and India alone comprise over 38 percent of the world's population."

Well, after September 11, we should all understand and care about this condition. Let these experts explain why. This study and other recent studies have shown that where what the authors call surplus young males (what I have dubbed "rogue males") predominate, instability is often rife. And, as we know now, this surplus of rogue males can lead to "rogue" governments which harbor and abet terrorists, as in Afghanistan.

In China, these surplus males are called "guang gun-er" or "bare sticks" or "bare branches" as they will never marry (bear fruit!), "because no marriage partner might be found for them." By 2020, these authors predict, there will be 40 million "bare sticks" for China alone! These are not your Western-type bachelors. Indeed, "single men in the West are not surplus males; they can and often do form ... attachments to women and produce children in that context." These "bare sticks" don't have that chance; often they come from the lowest socio-economic class, are un- or under-employed, live a nomadic lifestyle with few ties to the communities in which they are working, generally living and socializing with other "bare sticks." Thus, their behavior "follows a broadly predictable pattern," prone to seek satisfaction through "vice and violence."

In China, these "bare sticks" cause "the overwhelming percentage of violent crime." One scholar has shown that "an unmarried man between 24 and 35 is about three times as likely to murder another male as is a married man of the same age." He is also more likely to rob, rape, and, yes, join others in

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proving to his kind his manliness! The worst among them is to them the best! These men have "nothing to lose but their reputations for violence." They are juicy pluckings for the likes of Osama bin Laden. Marriage tames testosterone, which the authors feel may explain low levels of criminality among married men. A seventeenth-century observer put it this way: "Heretical teachings start by inciting, deluding and gathering people, but end by planning rebellion."

Governments with these ratios face "vexing policy dilemmas." Their governance must be more authoritarian, "must cultivate a political style crafted to retain allegiance and respect of its bare branches." China has a "floating population" of 150 million, many of them young surplus adult males (i.e., "bare branches"). *Beijing Review* reports that eighty percent of its crime comes from "migrants" – these floaters.

The authors note that "much the same analysis can be made" for India. Many of its legislators are criminals. Kidnaping in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar "is a way of life." Thus, what we see happening today, a continuing and probably escalating war between India and Pakistan, is in some ways a logical policy option for these governments with too many "rogue males." What to do? Sending them to war probably is better than killing them outright or putting too many in jail. These weak governments are often strongly influenced by street demonstrations, riots, and other bloody assaults. The authors of this sex-ratio study have confidently and, in my view, correctly predicted a continuing and increasingly dangerous war over Kashmir between India and Pakistan, both of which have dangerously high sex ratios.

And what has happened in America since our immigration laws were changed in 1965? The "open borders" policies of our major parties have allowed at least eight million illegal aliens to remain here, many even after deportation orders are issued against them. And Congress just adjourned without passing a Visa Control Bill, which among other things would have strengthened foreign student tracking and instituted machine-readable biometric IDs on visas and some passports.

American policies for dealing with this looming rogue male issue must include (1) a staunch refusal to allow ourselves to be overrun with rogue males or any large foreign contingent who cannot be readily absorbed into our nation's culture and values; (2) enlargement of foreign assistance, especially better controlled and directed toward providing family planning services; and (3) a better understanding of the governance problems in places such as China and India. These governments are not living in Kansas, Dorothy, but in a real world often close to anarchy. Why bleat about human rights to governments just trying to survive in a jungle? These fragile governments need our patience, our understanding, and our carefully directed economic aid. ■

Revolving Door Between Refugee Agencies and Government

Refugee advocate Lavinia Limon says she is "very afraid this country will not have the infrastructure in place to respond to future refugee emergencies in the world" (Security leaves refugees stranded," January 31).

I am afraid she is protesting too much. Refugee agencies have steadfastly refused to use their own resources to maintain the U.S. refugee resettlement "infrastructure." In fact, a program known as the Private Sector Initiative allowed sponsoring agencies to bring over refugees if the agencies were willing to cover costs of resettlement and support. It was discontinued for lack of use in the mid-1990s. Today, the agencies are opposed to diverting federal refugee dollars to overseas refugee assistance for fear it will mean fewer dollars for them.

One result is that we have a heavily welfare-dependent refugee-resettlement program. For example, 19 percent of refugee households have one or more household members receiving a Supplemental Security Income (SSI) check. This is a lifetime cash entitlement granted upon arrival, and at a time when Americans are facing the end of benefits in other, time-limited welfare programs.

The growth of non-governmental refugee organizations, which are little more than government contractors, is fueled by the entry of refugees into the ranks of salaried service providers and lobbyists for future generations of refugees.

Though your story quoted Miss Limon, who is the director of a non-profit refugee agency, it neglected to mention that she formerly was the director of the federal Department of Health and Human Services Office of Refugee Resettlement.

Certainly no other government-dependent industry would have gotten such light treatment by the news media for what obviously is a revolving door between the industry and the federal government.

— Letter to the *Washington Times* by Don Barnett of Brentwood, Tennessee, February 7, 2002

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Osama bin Laden's Man Trouble

Those scary groups of young men

by Lionel Tiger

An outstanding characteristic of the miserable band of insane worshipers responsible for the savage events of September 11 is that they are all male. Virtually all the fist-shakers we see in news clips of anti-American demonstrations in Pakistan and elsewhere are men, too, usually relatively young ones.

What does this have to do with September 11, Osama bin Laden, the Taliban, and the future?

One of the most difficult tasks for any social system is figuring out what to do with its young males. These are invariably the most lurchy, impressionable, energetic, socially exigent, and politically inept members of any group. They cause trouble for their elders and ruthlessly hassle each other. (See the Sharks and Jets of *West Side Story* and the Bloods and the Crips of "west coast story.") They pose chronic danger to public order when they drive, drink, and drug.

Various communities cause their young men to endure a startling and often gory array of harassing rituals and trials in order to become acceptable adults. In his autobiography, Nelson Mandela says that only after his circumcision at the age of 15 did he feel ready to assume the chieftancy he inherited. I have been a so-called "expert" witness in lawsuits on behalf of young men physically abused by fraternity brothers during hazing and initiations: One was turned into a quadriplegic. Often, only when they have made their bones in some grim initiatory expedition are young men able to contemplate the next steps of courtship and marriage.

The terrorism of bin Laden harnesses the chaos of young men, uniting the energies of political ardor and sex in a turbulent fuel. The structure of al Quaeda – an all-male enterprise, of course – appears to involve small groups of relatively young men who maintain strong bonds with each other – bonds whose intensity is dramatized and heightened by the secrecy demanded by their missions and the danger of their projects. Like such highly trained and prestigious warriors as the Army's Rangers or the Navy's SEALS, they are screened before they are allowed to earn their stripes in a program of militaristic training in isolated and demanding environments. Selection to the group is prestigious. It confers unquestionable, if radical, Islamic credentials and associates them with the tides of history sketched for them in their training. For many, nothing in the rest of their often sorry existence can compare with the authoritative drama of what they hope to do and with the sense of purpose flowing from their commitment to the leaders they accept.

"The terrorism of bin Laden harnesses the chaos of young men, uniting the energies of political ardor and sex in a turbulent fuel."

Their comfort in an all-male world begins with the high sex segregation of many of the Muslim communities from which the terrorists draw. While there are great variations among Islamic communities, the sharp tendency is toward sexually segregated societies. Contact between the sexes is tightly restricted by draconian moral codes. Not only are

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women's faces veiled, so is their behavior. This means that men and women have relatively little to do with people of the opposite sex. Therefore, they develop a great deal of reliance on their own.

Most men in most societies marry, or try to. This is more difficult than usual in polygamous societies in which the powerful men have as many as four wives, leaving three potential husbands without a date for Saturday night – or any night. For example, Osama bin Laden is thought to have several cave mates, as many as four, including his most recent bride, a teeny-bopper who is presumably an earnest theological theorist. There are also substantially more men than women in Afghanistan, which augments the deprivations of polygamy. So some of his troops have no choice but to accustom themselves to relatively monastic lives.

The sexuality and reproductive potential of such young men is not an unimportant matter politically. The United Arab Emirates, not normally considered forerunners of the progressive movement, have taken an inventive action that reflects how difficult it is for men and women to mate in a traditional manner. To marry a local girl, men in that nation must provide gifts, feasts, and ritual performances that may cost as much as $40,000 – an impossible accumulation for all but a few. Many could choose a foreign wife instead, which is unattractive to the government. So now when a man marries a local woman, the government supplies a grant sufficient for his ceremonial obligations. Bin Laden and his ilk provide no such marriage benefit. (In a grim reversal, they offer bonuses to the kin of those who commit suicide.) So his young men have to rely for emotional and social succor on their fellow marchers toward the triumph of grandly effective death.

It is in the crucible of all-male intensity that the bonds of terrorist commitment and self-denial are formed. As they move from Hamburg to Cleveland to Lima to Havana to Jersey City, they are enveloped in tacit camaraderie with their associates who have endured the same training, the same deprivation, the same expectation of enjoying death and heaven in the same shiver. They share the sweet-sour prospect of striking a fiery suicidal blow for the self-evident purity of a religion of love. They are not lonely psychopaths but demented special forces wearing anonymity like a uniform. They share and catalyze swirling energies and religious absolutism, forces immensely useful to those operators such as bin Laden who are able to turn young men's need for a cool place in the hot sun outward, to other societies, to attack infidels at large.

It is something grand to do. So much better than the few jobs available, the threadbare economies, the ramshackle societies run either by altogether corrupt cynics, autocratic monarchies feeding princes *foie gras*, or theocracies that mistake reading ancient books for action.

Will the situation change? There are countless young men in poor "states of concern" whose only plausible luxury may lie in the symbolic realm of moral and theological triumph. They are likely, at best, to have to scrape out a minimally tolerable existence that pales beside the images of sensual and material peril – America! America! – their leaders seek to hide from them but cannot. "The Great Satan" strictly translated is "the great tempter." A select few, perhaps the most angry or lonely, perhaps the most pious or theoretical, will decide not to try to become part of America or its way of life but to destroy it.

To do this, they can enroll in stirring academies such as bin Laden's. The danger of belonging to them enhances their excitement and feeds their sense of worthwhile enterprise. Their comrades provide them an emotional haven and a clear focus for the turbulent energies at the intersection of youth and despair. Their basic weapons are intensity and insane commitment, not the usual visible armament of warriors. American and other forces will have to find, confront, and destroy something new. They may well succeed in rooting out at least the more overt groups. But the much larger and longer-term problem for us and the world-at-large is that there are millions upon millions of these young men, not just bin Laden's thousands, who will finally have to be faced by the currently feckless leaders of the grim societies that have produced and nurtured such wild theological pathologies. ■

[*Editor's note: On this same topic, see Don Collins's article, "Overabundance of Rogue Males" with its accompanying statistics and charts, in the Fall 2001 issue of* The Social Contract, *Volume XII, Number 1, p.72.*]

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The Age of Migrations

Intersecting population trends

by Lindsey Grant

The terrorist attacks last September remind us that it is an uncertain world, here at the start of the twenty-first century. Demographic trends are a fundamental source of the uncertainties. I can hardly pretend to foresee how the trends will play out, but I can describe some of the forces presently in motion.

The Accidental Experiment

To state my thesis at the outset: we are fiddling with the systems that support us. We are generating and exacerbating competitive tensions among the human tribe. And we don't know what we are doing. We have gotten ourselves in this jam because, without thinking through the consequences, we altered the balance between our species and the rest of nature. We have come to believe in Growth as sacrosanct, when in fact human growth at recent rates is a new thing on Earth, and no material growth can be sustained forever on a finite planet. We have moved into a position of dominance, but we don't accept the responsibilities that go with that role. We need to make fundamental changes in our mindset if we are to deal with the forces we have put in motion.

Scientists occasionally characterize various human activities as "unplanned" or "accidental" experiments. We change the biosphere without knowing – or indeed much caring about – the ramifications, and without a companion Earth to serve as a control. It is a good metaphor for what we are doing to the planet.

The vastest of these experiments was begun around 1950. It drives most of the others. We began to apply modern medicine and public health practices to reduce mortality in the poor countries. The motive was humane. We all can applaud a reduction of mortality. But when we tampered with one side of a natural equation without looking at the other side, we generated a fundamental imbalance. Efforts to address human fertility were delayed, timid, and faltering. Consequently, the world's population grew much more in the following two generations than it had in all previous human history.

The less developed, poorer countries nearly trebled from 1.7 billion in 1950 to 4.9 billion in 2000. The United States' population, driven increasingly by immigration, nearly doubled from 151 million to 281 million. The rest of the industrial world grew by just 37 percent, to 910 million.

Concurrently, there was a consumption boom unparalleled in human history. The combination has led to hitherto unknown pressures on resources and productive systems. For the first time, humans now dominate most ecosystems and affect all of them.

A cascade of "experiments" has followed, mostly connected with that first one. We supported the growth of human populations with some fundamental changes in agriculture. We now use six times as much commercial fertilizer as we did in 1950. Human activity puts nitrogen, potassium, phosphates, and sulfates into the environment much faster than natural processes produce them. We don't know what will happen if this goes on for another century or so, but we cannot stop the experiment, because without commercial fertilizers, literally billions of people would starve.

We would have drowned in the nitrogen if it were not being processed back into its inert atmospheric state by some helpful microbes. We don't know much about those microbes, but we are changing their environment and thereby testing how much abuse they can take. If we learn the answer to that unintentional experiment, it will be too late, because our lives depend on them.

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Traditional crops have developed defenses against pests through generations of seed selection. The "green revolution" crops provide more food, but they demand more fertilizer and more pesticides. We are introducing new pesticides and new plants through genetic modification and thereby inadvertently promoting the evolution of our opponents into more formidable adversaries. The mutant pests can handle the pesticides, so we invent something nastier, in an ongoing and dubious war.

The new crops also require much more water, and irrigation has doubled, but the era of rising irrigation has ended. Now arid regions are running out of water, and scarcities are appearing even in moist areas, including the eastern and central United States. We cannot count on irrigation to sustain growth in yields. It takes a thousand tons of water to grow a ton of corn. The supply of available water is basically static. When the areas with enough rainfall are already in use, when farmers have bought whatever water is available from surplus areas and have mined the aquifers, the price of water skyrockets. With the best available technologies, and with energy prices at present levels, it costs about $2 to $3 to desalinate 1000 gallons of seawater – delivered at the seashore, not the farm. Farmers won't pay $100 or more for the water to raise a bushel of corn that might fetch something like $2.50.

And they won't recycle the water by building huge greenhouses, as some people have suggested. That is possible for specialty crops such as tomatoes for the prosperous in the winter. But as a way of providing basic food for six billion people, and rising, the cost would be out of sight.

Humankind has come a long way from the time when there were very few of us and we could survive by hunting and gathering. As agriculturalists, we are hitting the stops.

Growth advocates then ask, "Why not farm the oceans?" The answer is that we are already overfishing them. Theoretically, we could raise yields by fertilizing them, as we do the land. In particular, spreading iron in the sea in very small concentrations would probably lead to increased phytoplankton production and larger fish harvests. Experiments have been tried, and it is being seriously proposed that they be extended. This enthusiasm results partly from another calculation. Such fertilization might also sequester atmospheric carbon dioxide and thus mitigate climate warming. Speculative companies have even been created, hoping to make a profit from a potential world market in credits for carbon sequestration. Commerce never sleeps.

The problem here is that the proposal would transform the sea and the climate in ways we cannot predict. It would be another unplanned experiment with the earth, this one on a scale so vast as to make our fertilizer experiment on land seem picayune. The proponents are, in effect, proposing another very dangerous "solution" to two perceived problems, in an effort to avoid the one thing we must do: limit the demand.

"Humankind has come a long way from the time when there were very few of us and we could survive by hunting and gathering. As agriculturalists, we are hitting the stops."

Our energy future also faces limits, driven by rising costs. My corn calculations above were based on present energy prices. The price will rise. Petroleum resources are finite – a circumstance that most people (except our Vice-President) seem to recognize. The U.S. Geological Survey estimates remaining world resources at something over two trillion barrels. World usage presently runs at roughly 68 million barrels a day, and it is rising. Not a very long future. The United States has already pumped out about 70 percent of the petroleum we started with.

Denial is an ingrained human trait. Growth apologists, faced with the experts' estimates, look to some panacea. Oil sands are cited as the next source of energy, but their processing involves horrendous environmental costs, and experience suggests that it may take more energy to exploit most of them than they can produce. Ocean methane from the continental slopes is cited as another possibility, but the

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environmental consequences of such an effort are even more frightening. We would be more likely to release the methane to warm the climate than to capture it for human use, triggering undersea mudslides and tsunamis as we did so.

When world petroleum production passes its peak (probably within the next generation), the pressure on prices will be intense. Users will turn increasingly to natural gas, and gas resources will then come under pressure. We can shift to other resources, but nuclear power is dangerous and expensive. Coal is dirty and offers the unpleasant choice of either increasing air pollution and releasing more greenhouse gases, or making heavy investments in clean-up technologies. (It is also very unevenly distributed, worldwide, like petroleum, but in this case the United States has the largest share.) Europe is beginning to diversify its sources. So should we. We can move toward more benign technologies such as wind and photovoltaics. Wind energy is nearly competitive for peaking power, right now, and would probably be cheaper than oil and coal if we figured in the environmental costs of fossil fuels, but wind and solar energy are likely to be much more expensive sources of base power than any conventional source is now.

The point of this thumbnail sketch of energy sources is that the world will have to go through a rapid energy transition even if it avoids the calamity of a sudden interruption of supplies from distant and unstable areas. It will face rising costs that will ripple through the world economies. We will be much better off if there are fewer people, demanding less energy, than if nations must finance the cost of the energy transition on top of the infrastructure costs of accommodating rising populations.

Population and Security

To move on: our gigantic experiment with the climate is population-driven. Consider this: if world populations now were what they had been in the 1950s, our total release of carbon dioxide would be within a tolerable range, even without reforming our current energy-intensive habits.

Human activities have become the principal driver of species extinction and the unwitting architect of evolution.

I could go on and discuss chemicals. Or sewage and solid waste. But enough is enough. We must come to recognize the immense role we have assumed on Earth. We can no longer behave like other animals, oblivious to the consequences of our activities. We have learned to change the earth but not to manage it. We cannot put the genie back into the bottle. We must learn to control it. And that starts with reducing our own demands on the system.

Since we are preoccupied with terrorism and its sources right now, let me describe its demographic origins. How can people become so angry they will destroy themselves to destroy others? Most people tend to be friendly when they are not threatened. Tensions grow and hostilities mount when they are competing for scarce goods and resources. The Middle East is mostly desert, with few natural resources except petroleum and gas. By and large, the populations in 1950 were living at subsistence level within those constraints. The oil boom and the population boom changed all that. Since then, Saudi Arabia has gone from three to 22 million people, the United Arab Emirates from 70,000 to 2.6 million (most of them foreigners). Jordan, without oil resources, has five million inhabitants now; it had fewer than 500,000 then. Most of the countries in the region have trebled – even Afghanistan, which is in shambles.

Israel, at the middle of the powder keg, has gone from 1.3 to six million, fifteen percent of them Arab – and this does not include the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The Jews are sequestering water supplies for their own use at the expense of the Palestinians, but the Palestinian West Bank is the source of the aquifers on which Israel depends. The million-plus Arabs squeezed into the Gaza Strip are doubling every eighteen years. With aquifers turning saline, with few jobs and almost no resources, young Arabs there are probably at a stage of anger we can hardly imagine.

Add others to the mix, such as the jobless college graduates in Egypt or Saudis with declining incomes. It is hard enough to be poor. It is intolerable to be poor and see immense wealth around and above you, to have no job or any sense of purpose other than that provided by fundamentalist destroyers such as bin Laden.

The minuscule supply of water in that region has not increased, so per capita supplies are declining

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accordingly. The oil rich can desalinate seawater for domestic and commercial use, at a very high price – but not for irrigation. The poor do not have that luxury. As competition for water intensifies, so do the international tensions. Water is a major issue in Israel's relations with Syria and Jordan. The Turks have been putting dams on the Tigris and the Euphrates, threatening Syrian supplies and Iraq's irrigation systems.

The Arab world is the slowest of all regions, except Africa, in adopting family planning. That means that the poverty, the inequities, and the shortage of water are going to become even more galling. Most poor countries would welcome more help from us in bringing human fertility under control, but probably not those in the Middle East. They are locked into their antagonisms, and family planning is a victim of competitive breeding.

"The Arab world is the slowest of all regions, except Africa, in adopting family planning. That means that the poverty, the inequities and the shortage of water are going to become even more galling."

We can see trouble brewing ahead for all of us, and particularly in that volatile region. I assume that even an anti-Western (anti-American) fanatic would want to sell oil to us, because his followers would need food and necessities. The more immediate danger for the Western world and Japan is that turmoil would interrupt the oil supplies on which we depend. During Desert Storm, the Iraqi Army managed to torch the oil wells in its path even when it was in full retreat. Our dependence increases year by year. Japan, with almost no indigenous energy sources, is the most immediately vulnerable, but a significant interruption of oil from the Persian Gulf area would create economic pandemonium worldwide.

That is a contingency, not a prediction. Usually, we cannot predict the specific outcomes of our experiments with much confidence. The interactions are too complex. Population change, however, has considerable momentum, like a great ocean tanker. We can identify some of the other issues it will generate during the next half century.

The Age of Migrations

Three very different demographic trends are intersecting in the world today. The poor countries are going one way, most of the industrial world is going another, and the United States seems to be caught in the middle. I will address the first two trends first and then come home to the United States.

THE POOR COUNTRIES. The United Nations Population Division expects the "less developed countries" (i.e., LDCs, or poor countries) to grow by two thirds – from 4.9 to 8.1 billion – by 2050. This is despite some encouraging signs of fertility decline in most of those countries. Africa alone is projected to grow from 794 million to 2 billion.

I don't think they will get there. They cannot feed themselves now, and they will face tightening world food supplies. Moreover, poor countries' populations have been flooding into cities which have grown six fold since 1950 and are still growing. Those cities' services are on the point of breakdown. The very improvements in health services that started the population explosion are being undermined.

Whatever the precise growth curve, there are already – what? – billions of people desperate to leave the poor countries, and more to come. And, there or here, they are ready to work hard for almost any wage that keeps them alive.

THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES. Except for the United States, industrial countries have grown very modestly and are now beginning to decline. The United Nations Population Division guesses they will decline thirteen percent by 2050. They are being reshaped by a phenomenon that we did not anticipate. Women are enjoying their new independence. They have nearly stopped having children.

Italy provides an extreme example. Italian women are averaging just 1.2 children. If their fertility does

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not rise, the population will descend 87 percent to eight million by 2100, absent immigration. With a quick return to replacement-level fertility (2.05 children), the population would stabilize at less than half its present level. If they try to fill the gap with immigration, almost all Italians will shortly be "new Italians."

Europe, freed from the need to feed a growing population, is experimenting with "extensive agriculture," undoing some of the most damaging practices introduced a generation ago. (Because of our continuing growth, the United States has less room for that sort of experiment.) Some decline in population will be very good for the environment, but the decline must stop. Europe and Japan must decide how small they want to be and how they can stabilize at that level. If they cannot raise fertility, they will face a Hobson's choice between immigration so massive that it will replace the existing stock or the prospect of simply fading away. A functioning society is a complex thing. Can those civilizations survive a total demographic replacement?

Replacement is more likely than disappearance. There will be a vacuum as populations decline. Throughout the industrial world, a push/pull process is already driving immigration. The poor are desperate to come, businessmen want the cheap labor, and political leaders in aging countries will want workers. Modern communications have shown the poor the attraction of the developed countries; and modern transportation facilitates their movement.

Free trade will be a casualty if the industrial countries seek to restrict immigration and thus protect their workers' earnings, because their high-priced labor already finds it hard to compete against poor countries' low-wage labor, forces organized and trained by multinational corporations.

Where will fertility go? Young women are becoming the most powerful group in the industrial countries, as political leaders beg and bribe them to have children. Will the leaders succeed? History suggests they will not. Pro-fertility policies in Europe have had very little success. Will women generally decide on their own to have more children, again? It is one of the great demographic unknowns of our era.

The revolution in women's behavior will affect the more successful developing countries, too. A few, such as South Korea and Singapore, are already facing the same issues. However, population growth itself keeps the poorer countries from enjoying the general prosperity that has led to lower fertility. Their growth will probably be stopped by the bleak prospect of hunger, pestilence, and rising mortality.

In short, the forces driving migration will continue and probably intensify over the next generation and more. The situation in the poorest countries is so desperate that it is hard even to visualize a solution. Europe and Japan are in good shape to deal with their environmental problems. Europe, with the prospect of diminishing demand, is relatively secure in its food supply. Japan is not. Both are energy-short, but both have the capability to manage the energy transition away from petroleum – probably with a combination of nuclear and more benign energy sources. Both have that process under way. Their overwhelming question is whether they can manage their own fertility and migration.

Nations are used to dealing with migration, but not with fertility. Historically, most women have probably seen their fertility as something that just happened. As they learned they can control it, they have been interested in using that ability to achieve personal goals, not social ones. The idea that women's fertility is a social issue is a new one in human affairs.

The Profligate Giant

I have described the very different demographic trends intersecting in the world today and their consequence in an age of migrations. How will the intersecting demographic trends affect the United States? They are, almost certainly, driving the world toward

- a poorer environment, as rising populations make it progressively harder to manage the environmental issues we are struggling with,
- accelerated climate warming,
- more food and energy shortages in the poor countries,
- rising social and political tensions, within and among countries, partly the result of intensifying competition for land and water,
- increasing migratory pressures,
- rising U.S. dependence on imported fuels (from

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a part of the world that has demonstrated the uncertainty of the sources) and then, as the petroleum resources decline, an energy transition that will make most of us poorer.

The United States is changing profoundly as a result of those forces. Some of the changes are forced on us by poor countries' growth, but they are also the unintentional byproduct of our own behavior. We are creating a future that we never debated. Our population is rising 1.3 percent per year, mostly because of high immigration levels; and fertility is rising as more fertile groups come to constitute a larger fraction of the total. The Census Bureau middle projection is 403 million in 2050 and 571 million in 2100. We discovered in the 2000 census that growth is running ahead of the official estimates. The Census Bureau high projection puts us at 1.2 billion by 2100, the present population of China. And China is trying to stop growth while we – at least until the events of September 11, 2001 – have been pushing population upward through our immigration policy. Whether we go over a billion depends on how long the migratory pressures continue and how the country responds to them.

The United States is starting to resemble India and China in numbers, in the extreme inequalities between rich and poor, and even in its food balance.

Let me focus on the food balance. We are still the residual grain supplier to the world – we provide one-third of all the grain entering international trade – but sometime in this century we will need the grain we now export. Right now, we export 28 percent of the grain we produce. With current yields and consumption habits, we will need that grain ourselves by 2029 (Census Bureau high projection) or 2049 (Census Bureau middle projection). If our population is expected to double or quadruple in this century, it will take a remarkable increase in grain yields – in the face of the constraints I described earlier – and considerable austerity, to take care of our own population, to say nothing of exporting grain. And, if we run out, there is no country that can supply our needs.

If there is free trade, world prices will rise, and the poorest will suffer, worldwide. With restrictions on U.S. exports (which we imposed once before on soybeans in the face of one poor harvest), the food-deficient nations will face starvation.

The escape from this conundrum might seem to lie in raising worldwide grain yields. Beware. For one thing, there is no certainty we can do so; and it may be dangerous because of our reliance on chemicals and pesticide inputs. Yields rose dramatically from the 1950s until the mid-1980s, but they have been flatter and fluctuating in recent years. Yields do not respond to fertilizers as they did before. Worldwide grain production rose 2.7 percent annually in the 1960s and 1970s, and 2.5 percent in the 1980s, but only 0.5 percent in the 1990s (Food and Agriculture Organization FAOSTAT data) – much less than population growth.

"Our population is rising 1.3 percent per year, mostly because of high immigration levels; and fertility is rising as more fertile groups come to constitute a larger fraction of the total."

What is possible? Nobody really knows. Yields in the developed countries are perhaps the best rough indicator of what can be done. Total grain production in those countries has been stagnant for 20 years, but yields are thirty-five percent higher than in the poor countries. Moreover, corn and wheat yields in the United States have averaged higher in the 1990s than ever before. The optimist would say, "Look, there is plenty of room for growth." More realistically, remember that the poor countries' population growth would eat up that thirty-five percent differential in a generation, even if they could achieve such yields. And what are the chances of narrowing the differential, without the agricultural support structure of the rich world, without its capital or organization, with constantly diminishing plots of land per farmer, and with land erosion, loss of arable land and water shortages staring at many of the poor countries?

There is a furious debate about genetic

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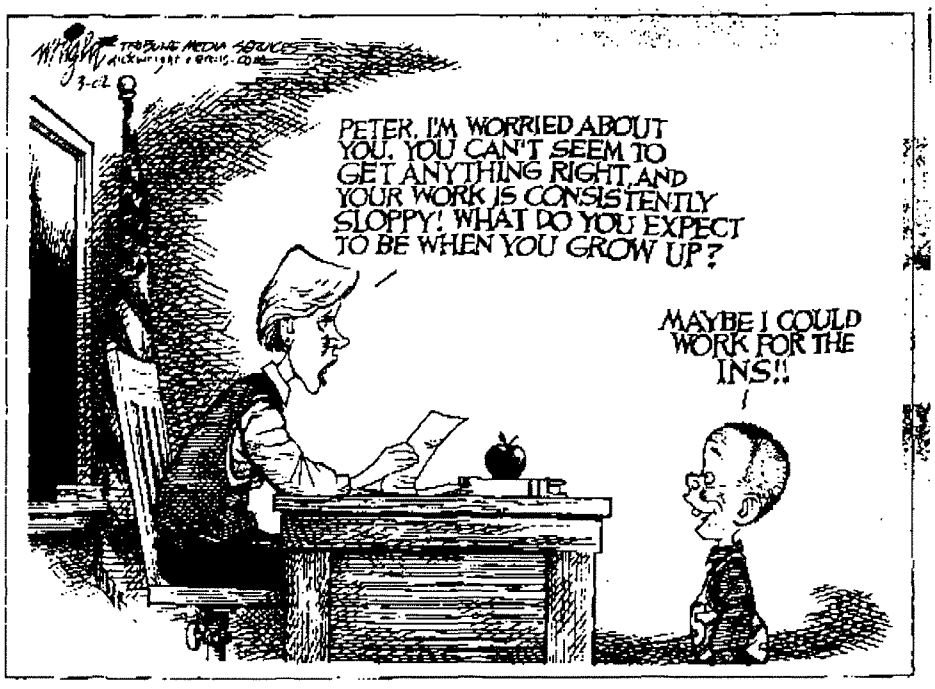
modification, but no assurance that it can bring back the growth of the 1950s-1980s; and it is another of those unplanned experiments whose potential ramifications we see only dimly. Climate warming may help food production, but is more likely to hinder it, especially in the poor countries.

Any solution to the world food problem will require a rapid slowing and then a reversal of poor countries' population growth. That in itself would be painful, because a slowdown creates a shortage of working-age people for about two generations.


PETER, I'M WORRIED ABOUT YOU. YOU CAN'T SEEM TO GET ANYTHING RIGHT, AND YOUR WORK IS CONSISTENTLY SLOPPY! WHAT DO YOU EXPECT TO BE WHEN YOU GROW UP?
MAYBE I COULD WORK FOR THE INS!!

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We can look back fifty years and ask ourselves a rueful question: could we in the prosperous countries have imagined that we ourselves might be so profoundly affected by the revolutions we helped to start? Why didn't we think ahead and consider the implications of changing one side of a natural equation without changing the other? Why are we still afraid to address it?

What should we do? At a practical level, the United States must address an immigration policy gone out of control. We should assure that poor American women have access to family planning. We should, belatedly, promote population-planning assistance from a stepchild of our foreign-aid program to its central feature. It would help the poor countries and offer us an eventual amelioration of migratory pressures. Most poor countries recognize their population problems, as we do not, and have asked for assistance in addressing it.

At a more fundamental level, we should re-examine our growth-oriented view of our numbers and our consumption levels.

We must ask ourselves, "What are the consequences of our present courses of action?"

Proponents justify growth by the need to accommodate the requirements of expanding populations for food and jobs and a decent living. The argument is circular. If we did not need to provide for more people, the only justification for growth would be to improve the lot of the poor. And that could best be achieved if there were fewer of them. Western Europe and Japan show that population growth is not a prerequisite for prosperity.

In the United States, we are afraid to address fertility because one faction gets it entangled with the abortion argument, and another faction sees it as "interference with women's right to control their own bodies." We are afraid to address immigration, because for some it is a convenience and because moralists see an obligation to give the stranger the opportunities we have had. We still do not recognize it as the principal present determinant of our future.

If we do not develop a better vision of our future and start moving toward it, we may get where we are presently heading. ■

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The Future of the Environment

by Philip Orme Miller

The environmental movement in America is comprised of a broad cross section of political views. These range from old-line conservationists like the Audubon Society and Nature Conservancy to the Sierra Club to the even more radical, anti-capitalist and anarchist types. You have no doubt seen their street demonstrations at recent meetings of the World Trade Organization, etc.

Despite the extreme radicalism and shaky science promoted by these fringe groups, the preservation of our rapidly shrinking wilderness and our environmental treasures is really a very popular issue with widespread support. Unfortunately, because of this growing radicalism we must be concerned at the loss of our individual liberties and property rights.

This growing radicalism, one must understand, is the result of an increasing sense of urgency to preserve the last remaining unspoiled places as we continue to rapidly develop the country .We are, in effect, turbo-charging our economy with a rapidly increasing population every year. Let's look at the very clear and simple facts. More and more people equals more and more sprawl, congestion, and environmental degradation. The biggest generator of people is immigration and the offspring of immigrants. Immigration alone is adding approximately 1.6 million new people every year (1,000,000 legal, 400,000 illegal, and over 195,000 H 1 B Visas – which was recently increased). That is the equivalent of adding another New York City (8,000,000) every five years! And that's not including their offspring! California has to build a new school every single day to keep up with this demand. It is axiomatic: with more people come more laws necessary to control everyone. If you are a landowner and are embittered by excessive government intrusion and regulation now, just wait until we have 400 million people here.

Despite every poll showing a substantial majority of Americans wanting both legal and illegal immigration dramatically reduced,*nothing* is done. We have all become victims of ferocious ethnic identity politics and extreme corporate greed. Growing powerful and hostile ethnic blocks are leading to divisiveness not "diversity" and Big Business wants the new consumers and the new workers, which are also constantly compressing wage scales. People at the lower end of the economic scale thus have no bargaining power. Their jobs go to China or Mexico or they have to compete with the constant influx of the unskilled. You can bet your last dollar if we were importing a million and a half lawyers every year, compressing their hourly billing rates, we'd have legislation passed before you finished reading this.

It is estimated that 70 percent of our growth in population since 1970 has been from immigrants and their offspring. From 1990 to 2000 the overall population increased by 32 million, an increase of 13 percent. Virtually all demographers now predict a U.S. population in excess of 405 million by 2050 and 570 million by 2100. What does this mean? I'll tell you what it means. It will be the end of America as we know it. You can forget about the national forests, national parks and the nation's beaches. Even now many of our national parks have become so packed that it is hardly a wilderness experience. The year 2000 was the first year at the Grand Canyon you couldn't take your car to the rim – too congested – you had to ride on a bus. I'm 57 years old and was born and raised in Miami. It is now massively bigger but most assuredly not better. It is "paradise lost." The sprawl and congestion are unspeakable. Vast areas of wilderness, farms and ranches are now subdivisions. Just look at the endangered and precarious state of the Everglades with its reduced size and water practically choked off. The waters of the eastern section of the

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Everglades are actually so polluted with mercury one can't eat the fish – a Florida panther actually died of mercury poisoning several years ago. Ah, but we need more people, more customers, more condominiums and strip malls. If you look at a photo of Florida taken from space the extent of development is astounding. The old saying of the past "Come watch us grow" must be countered with "at what price?" "You can't stop progress," begs a response of "What is your definition of progress?"

The proponents of constant population growth suggest we look at all the sparsely populated states like the Dakotas, Nebraska and Kansas that we can use for more people and landfills. This is absurd as it is the mountain states and the metropolitan areas that are attracting the sprawl. From cities to airports we are getting overwhelmed with congestion.

When I attended the American Graduate School of International Management in Arizona in 1967 there were still magnificent long-range western views everywhere. Recent trips to the West have been saddening with the discovery of widespread housing, travel trailer parks, golf courses and commercialization. The wonderful ranches and the heritage of our wide-spread scenery are rapidly disappearing with an increasing population escaping the congestion and barbarism of the big cities. People are pouring into the inter- mountain states. This crush of humanity is not just transforming America but the world as well and its last remaining beautiful places. Fifty years ago there were 50,000 tigers in the wild, today there are less than 4,000. In twenty-five years they may disappear altogether.

It is unfortunate the leadership of practically all of America's top environmental and conservationist groups have retreated from speaking about reducing the one driving force that is ultimately destroying our way of life – mass immigration and its resulting population growth. Their abdication of responsibility on this clearly fundamental issue is nothing less than astonishing. Twenty-five years ago overpopulation was recognized as the critical factor in habitat destruction. Think about it. There are a multitude of articles comparing cities' congestion, driving times, airport congestion, urban sprawl, along with Bush and Cheney's call for more refineries and 1 ,300 or 1 ,900 more power plants. Yet nothing is said about the underlying cause. This can't be an accident.

Perhaps these groups are afraid they won't get their funding from the usual leftist, pro-immigration foundations. Also, the media has successfully smeared anyone who is in favor of immigration reduction as a bigot, racist, xenophobe, nativist, etc. They know what is happening and are promoting it. All the hard-fought gains in preserving this or that little environmentally sensitive piece will ultimately be swept away in a tide of humanity and development. As Franklin Roosevelt once said, "Nothing in politics happens by accident". With the relationship between immigration and population growth and environmental degradation so easy to see, why and who in the media is promoting it? Why are we radically increasing and altering our demographic base? Who has been behind this? We all know Big Business is for it but the liberal media is usually very hostile to Big Business. Why is the media so purposefully silent? Why and who is the driving force behind this overpopulation and radical multiculturalism?

Aside from the radical agenda of the liberals in the media and academia it must be noted that Big Business today is neither patriotic nor responsible; it has evolved into transnational capitalism on steroids. The greedy and ignorant anti-conservationist attitudes of many "Country Club Republicans" and Rush Limbaugh with his characterization of "environmental whackos" – often to the accompaniment of the sounds of chainsaws – are completely out of step with the great majority of Americans. However, the average person has not yet quite made all the connections between rampant immigration and population growth as a cause of environmental destruction as well as political and cultural fragmentation and dispossession. It seems we Americans know the price of everything and the value of nothing with our myopic and greedy emphasis on quantity not quality.

As true conservationists we must embrace this issue. It has been our tradition and history: the preservation of our environment, our heritage and culture. We can make a difference. We must get involved. As conservationists, what are we trying to conserve – the nation for more Wal-Marts? ■

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Mass Immigration: Its Effect on our Culture

Why are the conservatives silent?

by Lawrence Auster

The problem of immigration and the changes it is causing in our culture can be approached from many different angles. We could speak about the redefinition of America as a multicultural society instead of as a nation; or the permanent establishment of affirmative action programs for immigrants based on their race; or the town in Texas that declared Spanish its official language; or the thousands of Hispanics at an international soccer match in Los Angeles who booed and threw garbage at the *American* team; or the decline in educational and environmental standards in areas dominated by Hispanics; or the Hmong people from Laos who bring shamans and witch doctors into hospital rooms; or the customs of voodoo and animal sacrifice and forced marriage and female genital mutilation that have been imported into this country by recent immigrants; or the pushing aside of Christianity in our public life to give equal respect to non-Western religions; or the evisceration of American history in our schools because our white-majority American past is no longer seen as representative of our newly diverse population; or the vast numbers of Muslims established in cities throughout this country who sympathize with the Muslim terrorists and dream of turning America into an Islamic state; or *our own leaders* who, even *after* September 11, keep telling us that the Muslims are all patriotic and tolerant, keep warning *us* against our supposed anti-Muslim bigotry, and continue letting thousands of people from terror supporting countries to immigrate into America.

At bottom, each of these phenomena and many more like them are happening for one reason and one reason only – the 1965 Immigration Act which opened U.S. immigration on an equal basis to every country in the world, rather than, as in the past, favoring our historic source nations of Europe. Of course many of the recent immigrants from non-European countries have fitted into America and made good contributions here. It is the unprecedented scale of this diverse immigration that is the problem.

I could easily devote the rest of this article to making a detailed case that the post-1965 immigration is indeed changing our culture in negative ways. But here I want to ask a different question: Why have *we Americans* allowed this to occur? Why are we *continuing* to let it happen? And why, even when we gripe and complain about some aspects of it, do we feel *helpless* to do anything to stop it?

Not the Cultural Left But the Mainstream

Many have argued, most recently Patrick Buchanan, that these things are happening because of the cultural left that hates America and wants to destroy it. There is no doubt that the cultural left hates America and wants to destroy it; and there is also no doubt that the left see mass immigration from Third-World countries as a handy way of achieving that. But that argument leaves unanswered a more disturbing question – why has there been no significant opposition to this leftist agenda? Presumably, the Republican party does not hate America and want to destroy it. Presumably, the conservative movement does not hate America and want to destroy it. Presumably conservative Protestants and parents' groups that have fought against Whole Language teaching and

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homosexual indoctrination in the schools do not hate America and want to destroy it. Yet nowhere among these legions of mainstream conservatives and the organizations that represent them have there been any serious calls to reduce this immigration from the non-Western world and the inevitable cultural transformations it is bringing.

Nor is the fear of political correctness an adequate explanation for this conservative surrender. Whatever the power of PC in our society, it cannot account for the fact that tens of millions of mainstream conservatives ranging from Rush Limbaugh fans to conservative evangelicals either support the current immigration policy or fail to speak up against it – even in the relative privacy and safety of their own organizations.

"...steps toward the establishment of Spanish as a quasi-official public language in this country have been met with complete silence on the right, even though opposition to bilingualism used to command automatic agreement among conservatives."

We are thus left with a remarkable paradox – that the patriotic and Christian Right supports exactly the same immigration policy that is supported by the anti-American, atheistic left – an immigration policy, moreover, that spells the permanent eclipse of the Republican party and the victory of big government, since most of the recent immigrants vote Democratic.

Indeed, our conservative Christian President, when he's not busy embracing so-called "moderate" Muslim leaders who are allies of terrorists, wants to expand Third-World immigration even further. But that's not all. Unlike Republicans in the past such as Ronald Reagan, who supported Third-World immigration on the hopeful if naive assumption that the immigrants were all assimilating, President Bush actively promotes the growth and development of foreign languages and unassimilated foreign cultures in this country. In a speech in Miami during the 2000 campaign, he celebrated the fact that American cities are becoming culturally and linguistically like Latin American cities:

> *We are now one of the largest Spanish-speaking nations in the world. We're a major source of Latin music, journalism and culture. ...Just go to Miami, or San Antonio, Los Angeles, Chicago or West New York, New Jersey ... and close your eyes and listen. You could just as easily be in Santo Domingo or Santiago, or San Miguel de Allende. ...For years our nation has debated this change – some have praised it and others have resented it. By nominating me, my party has made a choice to welcome the new America.*

As president, Mr. Bush has not only left in place Clinton's executive order requiring government services to be provided in foreign languages, he has started his own bilingual tradition, delivering a Spanish version of his weekly national radio address. Even the White House Web site is now bilingual, with a link accompanying each of the president's speeches that says "*En Español*" and points to a Spanish translation of the speech.

Yet, with the exception of one or two conservative columnists, these steps toward the establishment of Spanish as a quasi-official public language in this country have been met with complete silence on the right, even though opposition to bilingualism used to command automatic agreement among conservatives. If conservatives are no longer willing to utter a peep of protest in defense of something so fundamental to America as our national language, is there anything else about our historic culture they will defend, once it is has been abandoned by a Republican president?

What all of this suggests is that mass immigration and the resulting multiculturalism are not – as many immigration restrictionists tend to believe – simply being imposed on us by the anti-American left. Rather, these destructive phenomena stem from *mainstream beliefs* that are shared by most Americans, particularly by conservatives. Of course economic and political forces, and the birthrate factor, are pushing this process in a

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variety of ways, but on the deepest level the cause is not material, it is philosophical and spiritual. The reason Americans cannot effectively oppose the transformation of our culture is that they subscribe to the belief system that has led to it.

The Credo That Has Left Us Defenseless

What is that belief system? At its core, it is the quintessentially American notion that everyone is the same under the skin – that people should only be seen as individuals, with no reference to their historic culture, their ethnicity, their religion, their race. Now there is a great truth in the idea of a common human essence transcending our material differences. But if it is taken to be literally true in all circumstances and turned into an ideological dogma, it leads to the expectation that all people from every background and in whatever numbers can assimilate equally well into America.

This explains why patriotic conservatives acquiesce in a policy that is so obviously dividing and weakening our nation. Since the end of World War II, and especially since the 1960s, conservatives have tended to define America not in terms of its historic civilization and peoplehood, but almost exclusively in terms of the *individual* – the individual under God and the individual as an economic actor. For modern conservatives, what makes America is not any inherited cultural tradition from our past, but our belief in the timeless, universal, God-granted right of all persons in the world to be free and to improve their own lives. Therefore conservatives don't believe there can be any moral basis to make distinctions among prospective immigrants based on their culture.

We cannot say, for example, that a shaman-following Laotian tribesman, or a Pakistani who believes in forced marriage, is less suited for membership in our society than an Italian Catholic or a Scots-Irish Presbyterian. And we can't make such distinctions because, from the point of view of pure individualism, our inherited culture does not reflect any inherent or higher truth, and therefore cannot be the object of our love and protection. The only value that reflects higher truth and is deserving of our energetic defense is the freedom and sacredness of each individual. In practical terms this translates into the equal right of all individuals to make their own choices and pursue their own dreams, even if we are speaking of tens of millions of people from alien cultures whose exercise of *their* individual right to come to America will mean the destruction of *our* cultural goods.

In theory, multiculturalism is the opposite of liberal individualism. In practice it is the direct result of pursuing liberal individualism to its logical extreme. The 1965 Immigration Act was not about multiculturalism. No lawmaker said in 1965: Hey, we *need* Third-World cultures, we *need* female genital mutilation in our country, we *need* Shiite Islam and Wahabbi Islam to fulfil the meaning of America. The 1965 legislators voted to open our borders to the world, not because of a belief in the equal value of all cultures, but because of a belief in the equal rights of all individuals; the single comment most frequently heard in the Congressional debate was that prospective immigrants should be chosen solely on the basis of their "individual worth." But this noble-sounding sentiment was an illusion, because, in the real world, most of the people admitted into America under the new law did not come just as individuals. They came as part of the largest mass migration in history, consisting largely of family chain migration, and inevitably brought their cultures with them.

"We started letting in all these other cultures at the very moment that we had defined our own culture out of existence."

Thus, in passing the 1965 Immigration Act, we did two fateful things. We announced that we had no culture of our own except for the principle of non-discrimination toward people of *other* cultures — *and* we began admitting millions of people from those other cultures. We started letting in all these other cultures at the very moment that we had *defined our own culture out of existence.*

This delusional act led to the next stage of our self-undoing. In the late 1970s and 1980s, we began waking up to the fact that those other cultures were here, that they were very different from our own, and that they were demanding to be recognized and given rights as

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cultures. But at that point, what basis did we have to resist those demands? We had already said that the only thing that defines us as a people is non-discrimination toward other peoples; we thus had no justification for saying that maybe it's not such a great idea to import people adhering to radical Islam or Mexican nationalism into the United States. Having cast aside our own culture, we had no choice but to yield, step by step, to the elevation of other cultures. This is how America, through an indiscriminate and unqualified belief in individualism, ended up surrendering to its opposite – to multiculturalism.

Is Immigration Restriction Immoral or Un-Christian?

What has been said up to this point will offend many conservatives, particularly Christians. For one thing, the Christian church consists of people of every culture and race, so why can't a nation? The answer is that the church is a heavenly organization, it is not responsible, as a nation is, for the defense and preservation of a particular earthly society. Mexico and Nigeria, for example, are largely Christian, but in cultural terms are radically different from the United States.

To believe that all peoples on earth should join our country is the very idea that God rejected at the tower of Babel. God said he did not want all men to be united in one society, because that would glorify human power. If I may presume to say so, God had a more modest idea of human life on earth. He wanted men to live in distinct societies, each speaking its own tongue, developing its own culture, and expressing God in its own way. This is the true diversity of cultures that constitutes mankind, not the false diversity that results from eliminating borders and coercively mixing everyone together, which destroys each country's distinctive character. Consider how today's multicultural London has lost much of its Englishness, and increasingly resembles multicultural New York.

So I would respectfully suggest that when Christians translate the spiritual idea of the unity of people under God into the political ideology that people from all cultures should be allowed to come en masse to America and other Western countries, that is not the traditional teaching of the Christian church, that is a modern liberal idea, that is the *Religion of Man*, which has been infused into the Christian church over the past fifty years.

But if this is the case, how can we reconcile our spiritual unity as human beings under God with our actual cultural differences? The answer is that in individual and private relationships, people of different backgrounds can relate to each other as individuals, without discrimination of culture and ethnicity. But on the group level, on the level of entire peoples and nations and mass migrations, cultural differences do matter very much and cannot be safely ignored.

Thinking and Acting Anew

It would therefore be a tragic error to limit our thinking about immigration to technical matters such as law enforcement against illegal aliens and security measures against terrorists, as vitally important as those things are. Beyond the immediate threat of mass physical destruction, we face a more subtle but no less serious threat to the very survival of our civilization. As Daniel Pipes writes in the current issue of *Commentary*:

> *To me, the current wave of militant Islamic violence against the United States, however dangerous, is ultimately less consequential than the non-violent effort to transform it through immigration, natural reproduction, and conversion.*

Of course I agree with Mr. Pipes. But, as I've tried to demonstrate, we cannot hope to stop or significantly slow that immigration unless we abandon this contemporary idea that America is defined by *nothing* except individual freedom and opportunity – the idea that America has no particular culture of its own that is worth preserving. Rethinking these beliefs and rewriting our immigration laws accordingly will not be easy, but if we fail to make the attempt, we will simply continue sliding, slowly but surely, toward the dissolution of our culture and our country. ■

Lawrence Auster is the author of
The Path to National Suicide
An Essay on Immigration and Multiculturalism
American Immigration Control Foundation
Monterey, Virginia
Softcover, 96 pages, $4.00

"Auster offers excellent insight into the historical background and national psychology that brought the United States to the crisis of immigration it currently faces. The book includes a useful discussion of racism and why it is not racist for countries to defend their culture and heritage. It concludes with a strategy to restore reason to our immigration policy."

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Our Nation Comes First

Australian scholar decries labels of intolerance and xenophobia

by Katharine Betts

Robert Manne, the *Age* columnist, has argued that Australia's public culture has been reshaped, for the worse, under the Howard Government. He blames this on Pauline Hanson's influence, together with John Howard's attitude to her. Instead of condemning Hanson's views about Aboriginal welfare and Asian immigration, Howard applauded the weakening of political correctness and the growth of free speech.

Manne wrote: "In the strange dynamic that now developed between the stridency of Hanson and the silence of Howard, Australia's political culture began to be reshaped."

But even as late as 1999 this change had not done its worst, because we still accepted the Kosovar refugees.

"The moral turning point with regard to refugees began only in October, 1999, when boat people fleeing from two of the most vicious tyrannies on earth – Iraq under Saddam Hussein; Afghanistan under the Taliban – began to arrive in significant numbers on our northern shores.

This was the moment where the idea of the refugee began to be transformed in Australian public consciousness from a human being worthy of compassion into a human being deserving only our contempt," wrote Manne.

The opinion poll data do not support this interpretation. There was no sudden change after 1999, whether induced by Howard and Hanson or conjured up from some other source; attitudes to boat people had formed and firmed over a quarter of a century. The more experience Australians had of boat people arriving, the more unhappy about it they became and the less inclined to offer an open house.

It is not logical to compare public sentiment about the Kosovars with feeling about boat people. The Kosovars were invited to Australia for temporary respite on our terms. Most Australians seemed glad that our country could help, and many offered personal assistance.

We should not see the two sets of circumstances as similar; a better comparison may be between giving to a charity of one's own accord versus being besieged by street beggars. In the first instance we believe the recipient is deserving and the money well spent. In the second we cannot know if the suppliant is deserving or a fraud – and people accosted in this way often feel stressed and resentful.

But the negative attitudes to boat people recorded in the current polls may be due to more than just experience or doubts about the asylum seekers' bona fides. The *Tampa*[1] incident illustrates some possible sources of changes in attitude.

First, there is the scale of the movement. This in itself captured public attention and, when combined with the growing numbers per boat, highlighted the role of people smugglers. Their prominence feeds the suspicion that, rather than being genuine refugees, many of the boat people are manipulating the system.

In the late 1970s many people could have thought that to turn the boats around would be to condemn innocent and desperate people to death by drowning. Today a person offering this response could think, "Let the

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people smugglers take them back to Indonesia."

And, of course, there is the shift from Asian source countries to the Middle East. It is curious that allegations of Australian xenophobia have focused on our supposed antipathy to Asia and Asians. Middle Easterners are, after all, phenotypically very close to Europeans. Yet a poll taken in 1988 found that the Middle East was the least popular region of the world as a source for future immigrants, less popular than Asia or Africa. This points to the importance of cultural rather than racial diversity.

The *Tampa* incident occurred while the nation was reading shocking accounts of rapes in western Sydney; gangs of young men of Lebanese origin had allegedly been raping young Caucasian women in a racially motivated fashion. This series of incidents was unlikely to make the public more inclined to offer the welcome mat to boatloads of unknown adventurers from the Middle East, a state of mind that the September 11 catastrophe could only reinforce.

Nonetheless, the evidence shows there was no sudden desire to close the door on boat people dating only to the past couple of years.

Critics are quick to dismiss this attitude as narrow-minded xenophobia, the mindset of a paranoid people still gripped by 19th century fears of invasion. Some critics cannot understand why Australians might want to distinguish between fellow citizens and foreigners; they do not see the importance of a common sense of peoplehood.

"...threats to a sense of common identity endanger a broad range of other goals we care about."

Modern nations consist of millions of disparate individuals. If they cannot also think of themselves as belonging to a group that has a collective responsibility for their common future, they will be unable to act as a group. Consequently, threats to a sense of common identity endanger a broad range of other goals we care about.

But many intellectuals are tone deaf to the ideas of nation and peoplehood, and the power these ideas have for most Australians. People who are secure in their identity may choose to act compassionately, as in the case of the Kosovars, but resent attempts to coerce them to share their home with outsiders.

Critics who cannot understand this imagine that if they assault and insult the idea of the nation with sufficient vigor, we will all become generous internationalists living in a world of peace and sharing.

In the recent election campaign the government emphasized its stand on the boat people. For the government's critics, reminding voters of its respect for borders was a disgraceful appeal to the ever-present racism of the Australian people. This is not the correct way to see it. Liberal democracies that care for their members, and for outsiders, must have a high level of social cohesion. Without this, members cannot believe that they are a people, and without such a belief they cannot function as a collective entity.

Some individuals, secure in the knowledge of their own human capital and confident of their international connections and marketability, do not see the need for a belief in peoplehood. But the majority do. They know that strong communities must have borders, and they want to continue to belong to a strong community. ■

1. *Dr. Betts refers to the* Tampa *incident. On August 25, 2001, an Australian Coastwatch plane flying the line between Australian and Indonesian waters spotted an old Indonesian ferry with an SOS painted on its roof and reported its position to Indonesian authorities. The Norwegian cargo ship* Tampa *altered course after being alerted by Australian Search and Rescue in Canberra and picked up 438 mainly Afghani and Sri Lankan passengers from the sinking ferry on August 26. Later, Special Air Service troops were ordered to board the* Tampa *to prevent it from landing as it headed into Australian waters at Christmas Island rather than returning the passengers to Indonesia.*

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A Red Flag On the Highway

Book Review Essay by John Attarian

Patrick Buchanan has warned for years that America is on a highway to Hell. In *The Great Betrayal* he spoke up about the perils of free trade and globalization. *A Republic, Not an Empire* tackled our long history of meddling foreign policy. Now, he is urgently waving a red flag: The West is facing oblivion, in imminent danger of being wiped out.

The crisis is threefold. Uncontrolled immigration threatens to Balkanize America and Europe. A culture of Western self-hatred has displaced the West's old heroes and religion. Worst of all, the West is literally dying. "Its nations have ceased to reproduce, and their populations have ... begun to shrink."

The Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization
by Patrick Buchanan
New York: St. Martin's Press
308 pages, $25.95 hardcover

Buchanan paints a grim, convincing picture of the West's demographic implosion. In 1960, European (i.e. white) people were one-fourth of the world's population; by 2000, their share had fallen to one-sixth, as European birthrates collapsed, while non-European ones remained high. The fertility rate – number of lifetime births per woman – needed to replace an existing population is 2.1. Having fallen for decades, all European countries' fertility rates are below replacement: 1.3 in Germany, 1.2 in Italy, 1.07 in Spain, 1.17 in Russia, 1.66 in Britain, and so on. At these birthrates, the United Nations projects, Europe's population will shrink from 728 million in 2000 to 600 million by 2050. In seventeen European countries, burials outnumber births. Europeans are on the horns of a ghastly dilemma: admit tens of millions of non-European immigrants to provide the tax base needed to preserve entitlements for aging populations, and thus become a Third World continent – or raise taxes and slash benefits. Japan, too, is aging rapidly.

Likewise, after 1965 American fertility rates fell below replacement, and some 1.4 million abortions occur yearly. This, coupled with admitting over a million legal and half a million illegal immigrants annually, means that European–Americans will become an aging minority by mid-century, and Americans, black and white, will be gradually displaced by immigrants. Moreover, if American women keep shunning motherhood, "America either accepts mass immigration or the fate of Japan and Europe."

False alarm, some might reply. After all, many doom-crying predictions, such as world Communism, global famine, and nuclear war, never eventuated. This time it's different, Buchanan insists, because it's already happening. Europeans are dying off faster than they're being replaced. The longer this continues, the harder reversing it will be. Demography has a mathematical inexorability. For example, there cannot be more Italians of childbearing age in 2020 than there are young Italians now. The West's disappearance can be averted only by "mass reconversion of Western women to an idea that they seem to have given up – that the good life lies in bearing and raising children.

Why the flight from motherhood? Availability and legalization of contraception and abortion, Buchanan rightly argues, are an inadequate explanation. Western women are free to have children.

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The real explanation is a "revolutionary transformation" in beliefs in the Sixties, when many Americans were converted to a libertine world-view and lifestyle.

In addition, "powerful collateral forces" were operating. Women went to work *en masse* and, enthralled by careers and affluence, opted for childlessness. Finding that they could prosper without men, they had less incentive to marry. Millions of Americans valued affluence over babies. The consensus that fathers should receive a "family wage" collapsed. Buchanan adds (shades of this author!) that "Many conservatives have succumbed to the heresy of *Economism* [original italics], a mirror-Marxism that holds that man is an economic animal." Many Americans were spooked by "population bomb" talk. Rabidly hostile to men, marriage and motherhood, touting contraception and abortion as liberating, feminism, influencing millions of Western women, was another powerful factor in the West's biological suicide. Popular culture glorifies promiscuity and downplays motherhood. Finally, a secular libertinism, epitomized by the normalization of homosexuality, has displaced Christian morality. The evidence clearly supports Buchanan on this.

He is also right that the dominant Western worldview is militantly secular, deems all lifestyles equally valid, and forbids being "judgmental." It uses schools to foment secular humanist cultural revolution, and demonizes whites. Bravely facing the left's racial McCarthyism, Buchanan exposes their hypocrisy on "hate crimes," whereby crimes committed by whites against blacks are given national media attention and condemned, but black crimes against whites – the overwhelming bulk of interracial crimes – go unnoticed.

Historical Background: It's Later than You Think

Buchanan traces the West's cultural poisoning to World War I. "The proletariat has no fatherland," Marx declared, and his disciples predicted that the workers could repudiate the war. They didn't. Postwar Communist coups in central Europe failed, too. Marxist Georg Lukacs explained Marxism's failure by arguing that Christianity and traditional Western civilization had blinded the working class to its true interest; for Marxism to succeed, these had to be destroyed. Similarly, Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci argues that Marxists must make a "long march through the institutions" and transform them into agents of revolution. So Lukacs and some friends founded the Frankfurt School in 1923. After Hitler's takeover, Frankfurt intellectuals Erich Fromm, Theodor Adorno, Wilhelm Reich and Herbert Marcuse fled to America and spread their subversive ideas here. Advocating sexual liberation, Marcuse became a guru to Sixties campus radicals. Buchanan dubs Lukacs, Adorno, Gramsci and Marcuse "four who made a revolution" and the Frankfurt School "a prime suspect and principal accomplice" in the West's demise. They succeeded because other American intellectuals were doing similar things; they had a huge, spoiled, and naïve captive audience of "Baby Boomers;" television disseminated their message and reinforced it with powerful images; Vietnam increased their appeal, and ruined the American Establishment's prestige.

"This is the book's one weakness. The pernicious Frankfurt School was only one squad in an army of subversives. Focusing on them makes Buchanan's account lopsided."

This is the book's one weakness. The pernicious Frankfurt School was only one squad in an army of subversives. Focusing on them makes Buchanan's account lopsided. The terrible truth is that the Western mind has contained a streak of hatred for existing civilization, nihilism, and destructionism for centuries, traceable to the French Enlightenment, when, for the first time in history, atheism and antitheism became intellectually respectable, and, when alienated, adversarial intellectuals first began making careers out of attacking their own societies and civilization itself. Baron d'Holbach churned out anti-Christian literature, matching in virulence most of what the modern left is emitting. Multiculturalism first reared its evil head

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then, when Montesquieu, Voltaire and others used such devices as fictional non-Europeans, e.g., Persians, to revile their own civilization. Reduction of people to purely material entities was central to the writings of d'Holbach, Julien La Mettrie, and Claude Adrien Helvétius. Helvétius, incidentally, preached that nature endows all people with equal ability and that man is completely determined by his environment and infinitely malleable. Therefore education, which has the power to mold man, is the key to building a better social order. France, he argued, should replace education by the Church with compulsory public schools. John Dewey (who was familiar with Helvétius's philosophy of education) and his disciples, and today's leftist "PC" ideology-ridden "educators" are all faithful followers of Helvétius. (Yet probably not one "conservative" critic of modern education in a hundred has heard of him.) In the three decades before the French Revolution, pamphleteers relentlessly attacked the regime, mixing politics with smutty scurrility targeting Louis XV and his mistresses and, later, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. This vast literary assault, from the *philosophes* at the top to the Grub Street guttersnipes at the bottom, worked powerfully to delegitimize the Church and the monarchy; by 1789 these institutions had few defenders left. The parallel between the subversive intellectuals and writers of eighteenth century France and modern America is frightening.

The greatest nihilist of them all, the Marquis de Sade, propounded in his pornographic novels a comprehensive nihilist philosophy of godless Nature, complete determinism, moral relativism, unfettered sexuality and avarice, and egoism beyond good and evil. In this he took the arguments of the *philosophes*, which he knew well, to their logical conclusion. Sade's mouthpiece characters endlessly rationalized murder and advocated contraception, abortion, infanticide, and euthanasia, and argued that the obliteration of the human race would be a positive good. His hedonists found fulfillment in nothing, and ended up frustrated at their inability to commit sufficiently vast crimes, wishing they could destroy the universe, and longing for their own deaths. In all of this, Sade epitomized modernity.

The collapse of birth rates didn't start in the Sixties. The flight from motherhood, prompted by industrialization, a preference for affluence, fear of death in childbirth, and cultural and spiritual causes, has been going on in the West for centuries. French fertility stagnated through the nineteenth century, and was a major factor in France's defeat in 1940. European nations debated the threat of depopulation with dread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There was a temporary upturn in some European countries in the 1940s (see Allan Carlson, *Family Questions*, 1988, ch. 5). The American "baby boom" itself was only a brief hiccup in a long fertility decline; the American fertility rate had fallen from over 7.0 in 1800 to 2.53 in 1930 (see Peter G. Peterson and Neil Howe, *On Borrowed Time*, 1988, ch. 4, especially Figure 4-11).

Darwin's theory of evolution had weakened Christianity's hold on intellectuals before the twentieth century began. College curricula began disintegrating when Harvard's president, Charles Eliot, introduced the elective system (1869). Ideologically driven Progressive education emerged with John Dewey's *My Pedagogic Creed* (1897), in which Dewey affirmed his belief in education as "the fundamental method of social progress and reform." Dewey's disciples were explicit about using education to indoctrinate the young and thereby drag America leftward into democratic socialism – see George Counts's *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (1932) and *The Schools Can Teach Democracy* (1939). Sexology, largely the self-serving work of perverts such as Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis, was well launched before World War I. So was radical feminism, which already advocated lesbianism, contraception, "free love," and career equality, and asserted that the genders were equal and interchangeable. America's first sexual revolution occurred in the Twenties, pushed by a galaxy of libertine scribblers. The sexologists and sexual revolutionaries denounced Christianity as a killjoy, and called for rejection of the idea of sin so as to permit a libertine brave new world – see e.g., Edward Carpenter (*Civilisation – Its Cause and Cure*, 1891), Dora Russell (*The Right to be Happy*, 1928), V. F. Calverton (*The Bankruptcy of Marriage,* 1929) and Robert Briffault (*Sin and Sex,* 1931). Liberal writers were already heaping scorn and mockery on the bulk of the American population as uncultured, backwards,

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superstitious boobs in the Twenties (see Christopher Lasch, *The True and Only Heaven*, 1991, ch. 10, "The Politics of the Civilized Minority"). Communist infiltration of American education and cultural life was quite widespread in the Thirties, as Eugene Lyons showed in *The Red Decade*.

"In one of his most haunting passages, Buchanan describes Israel as "a metaphor and microcosm of the West." Israel's population growth is projected to grow far more slowly than that of its Muslim neighbors."

The Fifties, far from being the placid Arcadia of conservative myth, were a time of rising juvenile delinquency, rebellion, and crumbling sexual mores. Alfred Kinsey's *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* appeared in 1948, with the hidden agenda of normalizing extramarital sex, homosexuality and other perversions. *Playboy* appeared in December, 1953; the much-bewailed illegitimacy rate more than *tripled* between 1940 and 1960, from 7.1 per thousand unmarried females of childbearing age to 21.8; Elvis was lewdly bucking his hips against his guitar before adoring middle-class audiences; and federal obscenity cases were already multiplying.

The Sixties, then, were only the culmination of a long process of dissolution. The crisis of the West has been going on not for three decades but for three centuries. It's later than you think.

Great Migrations and Their Consequences

But in reporting on contemporary reality, Buchanan excels. He is chillingly informative about Russia's projected population decline, as China's population swells and population in the Central Asian Islamic countries is projected to surge from 78.6 million in 2000 to 117.3 million in 2025. Meanwhile Europe, a "dead man walking," no longer breeds enough manpower to defend itself. Buchanan warns of "coming great migrations;" China retaking lands lost to Tsarist Russia, and Muslim immigrants swamping Europe. Already, the European Union has 12-15 million Muslims; France alone has five million.

To anyone whose capacity to learn from history, perceive reality and think has not been destroyed by the crackbrained utopian dogmas of liberals, economites, and libertarians, these great migrations spell the doom of nations invertebrate enough to permit them. Populations which reproduce require more geographic space, spread out, and crowd out and overwhelm populations which don't. The growth of European populations was a major factor in the settlement of this country and the acquisition of overseas colonial empires. As Thomas Fleming observed, "It was the "*Völkerwanderungen* of the Germans and Huns that brought the Roman Empire down." Floods, whether of water or of humans, have a way of overwhelming and washing away whatever is in their path. In some cases the flood may be impossible to prevent. Should the Chinese start crossing the border in large numbers, it will be impossible for Russia to keep them out short of rushing its entire army to the border (where Chinese superiority in numbers would eventually tell) or using nuclear bombs (which would poison the territory Russia would be trying to keep Russian.)

In one of his most haunting passages, Buchanan describes Israel as "a metaphor and microcosm of the West." Israel's population growth is projected to grow far more slowly than that of its Muslim neighbors. The Israelis' offer of land for peace may be perceived by the Arabs as a sign of weakness. "Here is the analogy with the West. Is it in the nature of things that nations and civilizations rise, expand, dominate, and rule, only to recede and offer equality to their subject peoples – an offer accepted, until those subject peoples acquire the power to rise, expand and dominate themselves?" Are we really experiencing the end of history, or a sham peace, a transition from Western dominance to Western inferiority?

America is experiencing its own "great migration"– the Southwest's inundation by Mexican immigrants who, as he points out, differ decisively from previous European immigrants. They have a historical grievance against this country; they are from

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another race, complicating assimilation. They are entering in huge numbers (in the 1990s, persons of Mexican ancestry dwelling here reached 21 million); many are illegals; their homeland is geographically adjacent; they are entering a country which, pickled in political correctness, encourages separation, not assimilation. Feeling their strength, Hispanics are increasingly truculent, violent, and racist, talking openly of repossessing the territory lost in the Mexican War and doing it by the numbers. Buchanan presents several incidents of violence in California. He ably expresses the danger:

> *Perhaps our mutual love of the dollar can bridge the cultural chasm, and we shall all live happily together in what one author calls The First Universal Nation. But Uncle Sam is taking a hellish risk in importing ... tens of millions from a nation vastly different from our own. And if we are making a fatal blunder, it is not a decision we can ever revisit. Our children will live with the consequences, balkanization, the end of America as we know her. "If assimilation fails," writes [Samuel] Huntington, "the United States will become a cleft country with all the potential for internal strife and disunion that entails." Is that risk worth taking?*

Republicans' embrace of immigration is suicidal, because Hispanics are joining the Democrats, the party of the welfare benefits they use heavily. "If the GOP doesn't do something about mass immigration," Buchanan warns, "mass immigration will do something about the GOP – turn it into a permanent minority that is home to America's newest minority, Euro-Americans." As Hispanics gain political clout, "their agenda will become America's agenda." This, he points out, is already beginning to happen, as the AFL-CIO, hungry for members, has reversed itself about immigration.

Buchanan is careful not to demonize immigrants. Getting this on the record is vital, because Buchanan's critics have been unscrupulous in tarring him as a nativist, racist, and xenophobe, and their reaction to this book is utterly predictable. Most immigrants, he writes, "are good, decent people," who seek a better life, just as our ancestors did. "They come to work; they obey our laws, they cherish our freedoms; they relish the opportunities the greatest nation on earth has to offer; most love America; many wish to become part of the American family." Trouble is, they are coming in such huge numbers that it "raises a different question: What is a nation?"

Deconstructing a Nation with a Holy War of Hate

This doesn't matter, some might retort, because America is not about ethnicity, but ideas: supposedly we are united by belief in a shared set of ideas and values. Not true, Buchanan replies. Thanks to decades-long leftist emissions of anti-American venom, which he ably presents, a substantial portion of our population is actually ashamed of our past, despises our country, and regards heroes such Columbus, Washington, and Andrew Jackson as criminals for owning slaves, fighting Indians, and so on. Leftists trash movies such as *The Patriot* for celebrating our forefathers; schools named after Washington are being renamed; public education in history is dominated by anti-American ideology. "Civil rights has become a racket," Buchanan notes, with "race racketeers such as Al Sharpton harping on, even confecting, grievances for gain. The left's holy war of hate extends to Christianity. Despite America's Christian identity (which, Buchanan reminds us, Republicans and Democrats alike had long affirmed), the American Civil Liberties Union and Supreme Court have largely purged Christianity from public life.

The churches have become suicidally appeasing and apologetic, neutering their language, gutting hymnals of anything offensive. "History teaches that it is the whimpering dog that gets kicked," Buchanan warns. "Who will convert to a religion whose priests or preachers go about ... doing expiation for the sins of centuries past?" Unsurprisingly, the churches have lost their grip on souls, too; majorities of Christians in surveys believe that all religions are equally true.

To his great credit, Buchanan realizes that the West's crisis is one of faith and beliefs. "Western Man has decided he can disobey God without consequence and become his own God." Yet "The new hedonism seems unable to give people a reason to go on living." Once, energized by its faith, the West believed in itself, and reproduced. Now it has lost its will and vitality and its elite is trying to destroy its own

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civilization. Most urgently, flight from God means a flight from life. Devout peoples have high birth rates. Again, Buchanan is right. Having children is a sign of faith in the future, and those who trust God and are confident that "He will work all things for good for those who love Him" are naturally the most inclined to confidence in the future and to see children as blessings, not burdens. As Allan Carlson observed in *The New Agrarian Mind*, the baby boom was largely a Catholic phenomenon, with the more devout and traditional Catholics having larger families.

"Wherever secularism triumphs," Buchanan observes, "populations begin to shrink and die." On the evidence, he's right about this, too. A great theme of Western history for the past three centuries and more has been a rebellious quest for liberation – from God, Christianity, existing forms of governments, custom, tradition, and marriage; even from reality. People seeking liberation travel light and go it alone ("Down to Gehenna or up to the Throne, / He travels the fastest who travels alone," wrote Kipling), and nothing, absolutely nothing, is more encumbering and fettering than marriage and children. Contraception, abortion, and quickie divorce were all touted as liberators (it is no accident that divorce laws were relaxed during the French Revolution). Moreover – and this is very important – more and more people despair of the future as a secularized world becomes increasingly disordered and toxic. In many cases, childlessness is a *vote of no confidence in the future.*

How did this happen to us? The American majority, Buchanan maintains, has been intimidated into letting its enemies dominate culture and politics. Republicans reach out to hostiles who repay their crawling with kicks. President Eisenhower deported illegal aliens; politicians today lack such fortitude. Fearful of Hispanic retaliation, Congress does not insist on enforcement of immigration laws. "Such cowardice could cost us our country. There has been a terrible attrition of will to do what is necessary" to preserve America. Conservatives have barely resisted the cultural revolution, Buchanan speculates persuasively, because for decades they focused on the Cold War and taxes, neglecting social and cultural issues; the counterculture's grip on the young is too strong for conservatives to break; the left fights with a ferocity far beyond what naive Republicans are capable of; Christians are demoralized after their long bludgeoning, and respectful of even tyrannical authority; young Americans, raised in modern culture, regard it as normal; and conservatives lack the stomach to be counterrevolutionaries. He rightly warns that Americans who look on this Cultural Revolution as politics-as-usual do not understand it. It means to make an end of the country we love. It cannot be appeased. Its relentless, reckless use of terms like

"President Eisenhower deported illegal aliens; politicians today lack such fortitude. Fearful of Hispanic retaliation, Congress does not insist on enforcement of immigration laws."

extremist, sexist, racist, homophobe, nativist, xenophobe, fascist and *Nazi* [original italics] testifies to how seriously it takes the struggle and how it views those who resist."

True as far as it goes, but economism (itself a consequence of secularization) has been another mighty factor in disarming us. The Founding Fathers and the Framers of the Constitution presupposed a people resembling the population of the agrarian Roman Republic: of strong and righteous character, stoical, courageous, proud of their heritage and their country, keenly interested in their governance, jealous of their liberties, quick to defend them against encroachments. This sturdy American yeoman has, alas, gone the way of the Founders' tricorn hats and snuffboxes. The engrossment of much of the population in consuming commodities and entertainment, a central feature of the national character by 1960, when Vance Packard's *The Waste Makers* appeared, has disastrously reduced the American public's vigilance over public affairs. Too many Americans just want to guzzle economism's goodies undisturbed. The average American, who squanders five hours in front of a television every day,

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is preoccupied by such pressing issues as whether Mark McGwire or Sammy Sosa would hit more home runs, the end of *Survivor*, and Britney's belly button. When was the last time you saw crowds demonstrating deportation of illegal aliens and border control? Almost six months after September 11, Americans were back to normal, stuck in front of their TVs, engrossed in the Winter Olympics. Yes, they care about their country's future – but not enough to do something about it.

"President Eisenhower deported illegal aliens; politicians today lack such fortitude. Fearful of Hispanic retaliation, Congress does not insist on enforcement of immigration laws."

In order to enjoy their all-important lifestyles in peace and quiet, Americans will let virtually everything else slide. They take action *only* when something disrupts their personal comfort zones – by which time things have deteriorated so badly that the chips are far down. Consider the maleducation which rightly alarms Buchanan. Informed observers have pointed out for over *half a century* that public schools were making young Americans artificially stupid, ill-informed, and incompetent, and indoctrinating them with leftist propaganda. See, for example, Mortimer Smith (*And Madly Teach,* 1949; *The Diminished Mind,* 1954), Arthur Bestor (*Educational Wastelands,* 1953), and Rudolph Flesch (*Why Johnny Can't Read,* 1955). Yet we allowed this madness to go on. As long as the kids kept out of trouble and got good marks, most parents were satisfied. Implicitly, they viewed education as important chiefly as a means to the careers that were means to the end of attaining the "good life" of affluence, comfort, convenience, and consumption. Educational collapse had to reach a crisis stage before Americans began deserting public schools in large numbers. Significantly, it is the Americans most at odds with the national engrossment in economism and hedonism – serious, practicing traditional Christians – who comprise the bulk of the practitioners of the most radical (and best) response to the public schools crisis: home schooling. They are also the majority of those making the second best response: sending their children to parochial or other private schools.

It is no accident that immigration's advocates sell it with economic arguments: it keeps goods and services cheap, propels technological progress, keeps us competitive internationally, etc., etc. *These arguments presuppose that attaining and enjoying affluence are all we care about.* The strategy is this: show that *immigration helps bake a bigger and cheaper pie for Americans to consume, threaten them with the loss of that expanding pie if immigration is scaled back, and they'll accept it.*

Unfortunately, this insidious strategy has worked. It will continue to work until significant numbers of Americans announce, loud and clear, that they value the continued identity, integrity and survival of their country, their culture, and their way of life above the empty promises of economite imimgrationists – that say preventing the destruction of American middle class communities is more important than allowing corporations to move jobs to Mexico or Silicon Valley to get the last penny on the dollar with cheap immigrant software writers.

But Buchanan does grasp economism's role in our predicament for he points out bluntly that the battle to preserve the West "will define what it means to be a conservative." Moreover, "the transnational corporation is a natural antagonist of tradition ... the global capitalist and the true conservative are Cain and Abel." An apt rejoinder to the perennial and quixotic Republican attempt to bland corporate capitalism with social conservatism.

To avert catastrophe, Buchanan rightly calls for repudiating the left's ideology of national suicide. But he offers valuable specifics too. It may be too late for Europe to exit the highway, but America still can. Depopulation being the worse problem, we must encourage American women to have children, with pro-family tax relief such as raising the federal tax credit for each child, giving employers tax incentives to pay parents higher wages, and so on. "A free society cannot force women to have children, but a healthy society can reward those who preserve it by doing so."

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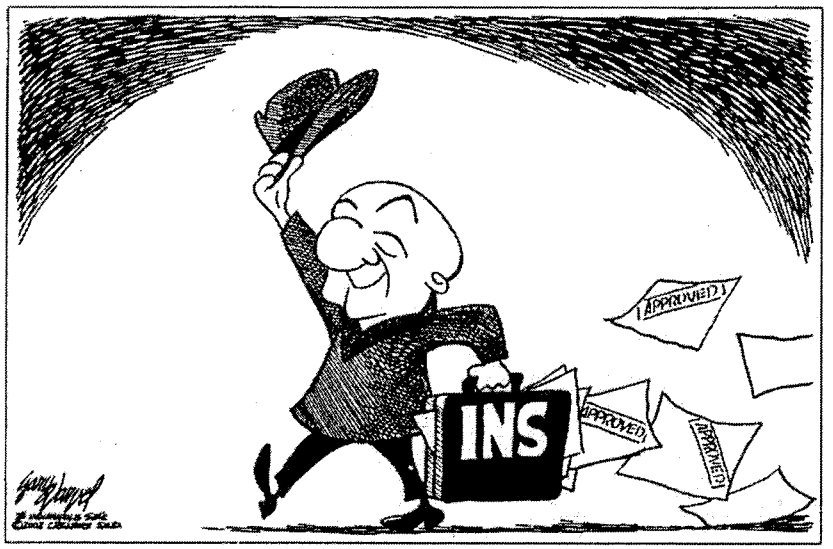
We should cut annual legal immigration to 250,000, deny amnesty, deport illegals, suspend the H-1B program, strengthen the Border Patrol, and prosecute businesses hiring illegals. We should uphold sovereignty by defunding the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, abolishing the World Trade Organization, opposing NATO expansion, and withdrawing our troops from Europe and Asia. The best answer to the culture is secession – refusal to consume its evil output. Politics require confrontation: defying the ideological judiciary, "open defiance of political correctness," telling the truth about history and hate crimes, enacting pro-life laws, boycotts, defunding cultural poison pumps such as the National Endowment for the Arts, and, yes, censorship.

Buchanan concedes that it may be too late to save the West, but closes by affirming that America is a beautiful country. "And that is why we must never stop trying to take her back." That call to undaunted perseverance is the right parting note. Defeatism risks becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy. Should enough Americans become sufficiently aware of the mortal danger their country and civilization are in, and become angry enough to act, we can yet avert the doom staring us in the face. We must not only get children out of public schools and climb out of the cultural cesspool, but start making adherence to economism, immigrationism and the left's ideology of Western suicide pay an economic and political price. We have the means at hand: our wallets and our ballots. As Casca pointed out (*Julius Caesar*, Act I, sc. iii), "every bondman in his own hand bears / The power to cancel his captivity." Corporations funding Hispanic radical groups, supporting affirmative action, or pushing for H-1B expansion should be boycotted – and ideally, told why. Economite Republican candidates no less than leftist Democrats must be shunned. A third party dedicated to immigration control and breaking the twin strangleholds of liberalism and economism on our national life is the only one worth voting for. We need such a party desperately.

Having given much advice, Buchanan might be open to some: Join Howard Phillips and the Constitution Party. Take the Buchanan brigades with you. Put out feelers to the Greens, immigration being the chief force driving urban sprawl and the over-consumption of water and energy in the Western states. The time is now, and your book might be the prod that finally rouses sane Americans to start recapturing their country,

In a time when denial, intellectual dishonesty, and hatred of our own are rampant, it is heartening, and long overdue, to read an author who unabashedly affirms that "The West has given the world the best that has been thought and taught. Western civilization and culture are *superior* [original italics]," and who has his priorities straight: "what is more important than the permanence of the American nation and its people?" One of the bravest and most important books I have ever read, *The Death of the West* is must reading for everyone who loves America and the West and cares about their future. Buchanan is saying things that simply have to be said. He deserves the gratitude of every patriotic American, especially those in the much-maligned white majority. Buchanan's proposals provide an exit ramp off the road to Hell. The question is: do we have the will to turn the wheel? We've been warned. ■



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The Mexican Conquest of the Southwest

Video Review by Wayne Lutton

Twenty years ago, Carlos Loret de Mola wrote an article, "The Great Invasion: Mexico Recovers Its Own," in *Excelsior*, July 20, 1982, the leading newspaper of Mexico City. In words that reverberate today, de Mola noted that "[The American Southwest] seems to be slowly returning to the jurisdiction of Mexico without the firing of a single shot, nor requiring the least diplomatic action, by means of a steady, spontaneous and uninterrupted occupation." As he went on to observe:

> *The United States is the richest and best organized country in the world, within the limitations of the capitalist system...But the Mexicans in the southern part of this nation continue to be Mexican and even to impress their personality on their surroundings, in limited proportions and yet ever growing...The U.S. upper classes in the western states live in increasing splendor. Their apogee of luxury and comfort doubtlessly marks the inevitable beginning of their decadence. The Mexican invasion continues....*
>
> *The territory lost in the 19th century by a Mexico torn by internal strife and under centralist dictatorships...seems to be restoring itself through a humble people who go on settling various zones that once were ours on the old maps.*
>
> *Land, under any concept of possession, ends up in the hands of those who deserve it. All of us Mexicans should prove ourselves worthy of what we have and what we want. The problem is one of organization.*
>
> *And those humble Mexicans—the braceros, the 'wetbacks,' the undocumented, teach us with their example of tough, iron-like character and their spirit of great adventure how to overcome a hostile environment. Let us imitate them from within the Mexico that belongs to us.*[1]

Conquest of Aztlan

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A new video documentary, "Conquest of Aztlan," prepared by Glenn Spencer, details how this *Reconquista* of California continues. Spencer's moving report includes video clips from West Coast Latino demonstrations, political rallies, and excerpts from speeches by leading Mexican officials.

The video opens with a statement by prize-winning Mexican journalist Elena Ponyatovska, who has taught at Harvard and Yale. She chortles that "Mexico is recovering the territories yielded to the United States by means of migratory tactics." The 2000 U. S. Census confirms that she is right: Millions of Mexicans, legal and illegal immigrants alike, streamed into the United States over the past decade, transforming many parts of this country.

Mexican political leaders of all parties see the migration of their people northward into the United States as a positive development. This video includes a clip of then Mexican president Ernesto Zedillo speaking in Chicago on July 27, 1997, where he declared to a convention of La Raza, "I have proudly affirmed that the Mexican nation extends beyond the territory enclosed by it's borders, and that Mexican migrants are an important, a very important part of it."

Zedillo then announced his support for a new

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dual-citizenship law just introduced in the Mexican legislature: "My government proposes a constitutional amendment to allow with the right and the desire to acquire another nationality to do so without first being forced to give up his or her Mexican nationality...Viva La Raza! Viva Mexico!"

While the Mexican government does not hesitate to place additional military forces along its southern border to deter illegal immigration from Central and South America, it denies the United States the right to curb illegal immigration from Mexico. In response to immigration-related legislation enacted by the U.S. Congress in 1996, President Zedillo fumed, "We will not tolerate foreign forces dictating and enacting laws on Mexicans."

The election of Vicente Fox as President of Mexico has not changed the position of the major political classes within Mexico. Indeed, the Mexican government under Fox has taken additional measures to encourage its people to leave and head north. Last year the Mexican government started issuing Border Survival Kits, containing food, water, and medicine, to prospective illegal aliens. Fox's own border czar, Senor Ruffo, advises his people, "If the Border Patrol stops you, try again."

As Spencer's video shows, Mexican-American politicians openly endorse irredentism. For example, Mario Obledo, one-time leader of the Mexican American Legal Defense & Education Fund, chairman of the California Coalition of Hispanic Organizations, and 1998 recipient of a Presidential Medal of Freedom from Bill Clinton, is seen in this video as looking forward to the day when California is going to be a Hispanic state. Says Obledo: "We're going to take back all the political institutions in California...The Hispanics are going to be the majority population of this state." Speaking in Los Angeles, the Presidential Freedom Medal holder warned, "Anyone who doesn't like it should leave...they [White, non-Latinos] oughta go back to Europe."

Spencer later introduces his viewers to the speaker of the California State Assembly, Antonio Villaraigosa, who has been active in radical Mexican separatist politics since his student days at the University of California at Los Angeles. A leader of Mecha [*Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan*], the organization includes among its goals the carving of a separate Hispanic republic out of the Southwestern United States. During his campaign for mayor of Los Angeles last year, Villaraigosa refused to disavow this MEChA plank when asked to comment on it by reporters.

Unknown to most Americans, in 2000 the Mexican legislature recognized its first representative for Mexicans living abroad. Eddie Varon Levy, a resident of West Los Angeles, was elected to the Mexican Chamber of Deputies. His main responsibility is to protect the interests of Mexicans living in the United States.

The Fox Administration enthusiastically supports the right of Mexican expatriates to vote in Mexican elections wherever they live. The Mexican legislature hopes to add thirty more seats to represent Mexican nationals in the United States.

Readers of this journal are well aware that Presidents Bush and Fox have made an "amnesty" for the millions of illegal Mexican citizens residing in the U.S. a priority issue. Bush's political advisers see support for amnesty as a way to pick up some Hispanic votes for his 2004 re-election campaign. Cheap labor advocates simply want to ensure access to a large pool of low-wage workers.

But there is more involved here than just domestic political maneuvering and economic opportunism. Leading Mexican policy makers, on both sides of the border, see an amnesty as part of a larger process of "Mexicanization" of the American Southwest.

Glenn Spencer asked former senior Border Patrol officer Bill King, who was involved with the INS during the 1986 Amnesty program, what a new amnesty would mean for America:

SPENCER: If we did have another blanket amnesty we might find between fifteen and twenty million people eventually being covered by it.

KING: Oh, more than that, Glenn. If they covered everybody that made an application, with the Census Bureau telling us that there are eleven million illegals in this country now.

SPENCER: And their family reunification.

KING: And coupled with the family reunification program when they become citizens, that number is astronomical. If they take in eleven or twelve million people through a new amnesty program, that number

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would go to forty or fifty million, I'm sure.

SPENCER: That would be half of Mexico.

KING: Yeah, absolutely.

If the general American public is not yet conscious of what is at stake, not so Mexican revanchists. Mexican-American actor and political activist Edward Olmos is seen in this video in an interview on the Univision television network from August 5, 2001, wherein he observed, "We also are going to dominate this country [the United States]. And it's going to take, the way we are going, another 25 years and we are going to be the majority of the people, period!"

This scenario is not inevitable. Many Americans are still unaware of the changes that are taking place and what may be in store for them, and their children, if the United States continues to be "transformed" through mass immigration. Glenn Spencer's video documentary may serve as a wake up call for viewers.

NOTE

1. See the *Excelsior* article in full in the Fall 1994 issue of The Social Contract, Volume V, Number 1, p.12. The article is also available online at www.thesocialcontract.com.

Taboo May Be Broken

Article Review by Joseph Fallon

"The Jewish Stake in America's Changing Demography: Reconsidering a Misguided Immigration Policy"
by Stephen Steinlight
Backgrounder, October 2001, 16 pages
Center for Immigration Studies

Arguably one of the most important essays published to date by the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Immigration Studies is "The Jewish Stake in America's Changing Demography: Reconsidering a Misguided Immigration Policy" by Stephen Steinlight.

Following release of its publication, CIS hosted a panel discussion at the City University of New York Graduate Center on November 14, 2001, where the author "debated" the premise and proposals of his essay with Philip Kasinitz, professor of sociology at Hunter College and the CUNY Graduate Center, along with Fred Siegel, professor of history at The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art.

Both the essay and the panel discussion make important contributions to the ongoing debate on immigration reform but not for the reasons that the author or CIS may have wished.

As Director of National Affairs at the American Jewish Committee for more than five years, Stephen Steinlight had worked with the National Immigration Forum (an umbrella organization to which the AJC and other Jewish groups belong) to promote Third World immigration into the United States.

In this essay, Steinlight writes that he has had a "change of heart, of thought" on the subject of immigration. While his "conversion" took years and "came gradually, even reluctantly," he now publicly disassociates himself from his previous position and former colleagues and claims to support the cause of immigration reform.

"The Jewish Stake in America's Changing Demography," however, is neither a learned nor an eloquent discourse on the need for immigration reform. Instead, the essay, which advocates fine-tuning rather than reforming current immigration policy, is a diatribe characterized by intellectual dishonesty, logical inconsistency, and moral posturing. But it is Steinlight's religious animosity toward non-Jews that defines this paper. He writes,

> *Like thousands of other typical Jewish kids of my generation, I was reared as a Jewish nationalist, even a quasi-separatist... More tacitly and subconsciously, I was taught the superiority of my people to the gentiles who had oppressed us. We were taught to view non-Jews as untrustworthy outsiders, people from whom sudden gusts of hatred might be anticipated, people less sensitive, intelligent, and moral than ourselves... [M]y*

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nationalist training was to inculcate the belief that the primary division in the world was between "us" and "them."

Sadly, as demonstrated by this essay, the author never outgrew his childhood indoctrination into hatred for non-Jews. To rationalize his religious and racial animosity toward white, Christian Americans, he misrepresents the immigration legislation of the 1920s. Dr. Steinlight writes of the "evil, xenophobic, anti-Semitic, and Red Menace-based Great Pause in the 1920s that trapped hundreds of thousands of Jews in Europe."

There was no Red Menace? Perhaps he should read the *Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression.* by Stéphane Courtois, *et al* (Harvard University Press, 1999).

"[H]undreds of thousands of Jews" were "trapped" in Europe? The immigration laws applied only to southern and eastern Europe. They affected Poland, for instance, but not Germany or Austria. Approximately 250,000 to 300,000 Jews emigrated from Germany between 1919 and 1939. The *Encyclopedia Judaica* estimats that 55,000 went to British-mandated Palestine, 63,000 to the United States, 40,000 to the United Kingdom, 30,000 to France, 25,000 to Belgium, 25,000 to Argentina, 16,000 to the International Settlement in Shanghai, and 5,000 to South Africa.

"Trapped" implies danger. Where was that danger in the 1920s? In Germany, the Nazi Party was comparatively small and powerless, and Hitler was in jail for his failed "beer hall putsch." In fact, the years 1924-1929 were known as the "Golden Twenties" in Germany. The currency had been stabilized and the country was not only experiencing significant industrial and financial growth but had also become a leading cultural center for the rest of Europe; e.g., Max Reinhardt and Bertolt Brecht in the theater, Hans Poelzig and Walter Gropius in architecture, Osker Kokoschka and Wassiliy Kandinsky in the arts, Albert Einstein and Max Planck in the sciences.

In Poland, the government encouraged Jews to emigrate. Unlike German Jews, Polish Jews were not able to enter the United States, so thousands went to the British mandate of Palestine. By the mid-1930s, Polish Jews represented over 40 percent of all Jewish immigrants. Similarly, many Jews in the Balkans, denied admittance to the United States, did not remain "trapped" in Europe but also emigrated to Palestine.

In Russia, where arguably most of European Jewry resided, the Czar, his wife, and his children had been murdered; and anti-Semitism, but not anti-Christianism, was made a capital offense in the newly established Soviet Union. By the mid-1920s, Jews in the Soviet Union were physically secure and experiencing a national renaissance in the arts, literature, and politics. Jews held significant power in the party and the government. For example, among the leading Communists were Leon Trotsky (Bronstein), head of the Red Army and briefly chief of Soviet foreign affairs; Yakov Svedlov (Solomon), Executive Secretary of the Bolshevik Party and as Chairman of the Central Executive Committee the official head of the Soviet government; Grigory Zinoviev (Radomylsky), head of the Communist International – the Comintern; Karl Radek (Sobelsohn), press commissar, Maxim Litvinov (Wallach), foreign affairs commissar, Lev Kamenev (Rosenfeld) and Moisei Uritsky. Even Lenin was arguably a Jew by the laws of Israel.

In reality, the immigration laws adopted by the United States in the 1920s, which Dr. Steinlight labels as "evil" and "xenophobic," were adopted according to democratic procedure, conformed to the U.S. Constitution, and reflected the legitimate wishes of the majority population to preserve the historic ethnic composition of the United States.

While he condemns these laws when applied by white, Christian Americans to preserve the historic identity of the United States as a white, European, Christian nation, Steinlight implicitly approves of such laws when applied by Jews to preserve Israel as both a Jewish state and a Jewish nation.

The author concludes his misrepresentation of the immigration laws of the 1920s by declaring, "America's abandonment of the Jews to Nazi annihilation is arguably the greatest moral failure in its history." This statement shows the continuing effect of his childhood indoctrination. Accordingly, white, Christian Americans are not just anti-Semitic; they have been collaborators in genocide against Jews. They were in the past; they can be in the future; they can't be trusted.

Steinlight conveniently omits the fact that, from its initial policy of lend lease to its final military intervention, it was the United States that was responsible for defeating the Nazis and freeing the Jews at the cost of over one million Americans – overwhelming white, Christians – dead and wounded.

If he is truly interested in the "abandonment of the Jews to Nazi annihilation," then Steinlight should read

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Zionism in the Age of the Dictators by Jewish historian, Lenni Brenner. The Zionists in Palestine did not want Europe's Jews and opposed unrestricted Jewish immigration. "Only young, healthy, qualified and committed Zionists were wanted."

In 1934, Chaim Weizmann, head of the Jewish delegation to the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, president of the World Zionist Organization from 1920-1929 and again from 1935-1946, and the first president of Israel, created restrictions to determine which German Jews would be allowed to immigrate to Palestine. Those to be denied entrance included "former businessmen, commercial travelers, artists, and musicians," and those who were "over 30, and possess no capital and no specific qualifications."

According to Israeli Scholar Abraham Margaliot, the next year Weizmann told the Zionist Executive, "the Zionist movement would have to choose between the immediate rescue of Jews and the establishment of a national project which would ensure lasting redemption for the Jewish people. Under such circumstances, the movement, according to Weizmann, must choose the latter course."

In 1938, after Kristallnacht, the British government proposed admitting thousands of Jewish children from Germany into the United Kingdom. David Ben-Gurion, member of the Zionist Executive since 1920, Secretary General of Histadruth (General Federation of Jewish Labor) in 1921, chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency in Palestine in 1935, and the first prime minister of Israel, opposed the British plan. He told a meeting of Labor Zionist leaders,

> *If I knew that it would be possible to save all the children in Germany by bringing them over to England, and only half of them by transporting them to Eretz Yisrael, then I would opt for the second alternative. For we must weigh not only the lives of these children, but also the history of the people of Israel.*

In his essay, Dr. Steinlight cites the immigration laws of the 1920s to rationalize his religious antipathy and advance his political agenda. For the same reasons, he ignores the 1965 immigration law, which established the current system that he claims he wants to "reform." His central thesis is that the United States is a "propositional" country defined by "abstract principles" and not a historic nation that is white, European, and Christian. He omits reference to the 1965 immigration law, because its congressional supporters repeatedly asserted their proposed law would preserve the continued existence of the United States as just that – a historically white, European, and Christian nation.

Congressional and administration supporters of the 1965 immigration act publicly assured the citizens of the United States that the proposed law (1) would not increase the annual level of immigration, (2) would not lower the standards for admission, (3) would not redirect immigration away from Europe, and (4) would not alter the ethnic/racial composition of the United States.[1]

Ignoring the inconvenient results of the 1965 immigration law, Steinlight declares, "We need to rescue it [immigration reform] from the influence of those who understand America not in terms of its abstract constitutional principles, not as embodied in the Bill of Rights, but rather in some Buchananite version of *blut un boden*" (italics in original).

It is apparent, however, that it is Stephen Steinlight who does not understand America. This statement reveals the phenomenal extent of his unfamiliarity with American history and the writings of the Founding Fathers.

From the first U.S. census in 1790 to the time of the 1965 immigration act, which created the current immigration system, the overwhelming majority of the population of the United States (89 percent in 1960) was racially white, "ethnically" European, and religiously, whether practicing or culturally, Christian. Today, as a result of more than thirty years of massive Third World immigration, that percentage has been reduced to approximately seventy percent. But the United States remains demographically a white, European, Christian nation, just as Israel is a racially white, "ethnically" European, and religiously Jewish nation.

So deep is his animosity toward white, Christian Americans and the historic American nation that Steinlight is not even embarrassed by his own hypocrisy. He eloquently demands the right to be publicly heard.

> *[S]top censoring ourselves for fear of offending the entirely imaginary arbiters of civic virtue, and bluntly and publicly [Italics in original] pose the same questions we anxiously ponder in private. The community should stop letting the thought police of the more extreme incarnations of multiculturalism squelch it... By liberating ourselves from these inhibitions we will unavoidably profane the altars of some of our own politically correct household gods... But we should ask the hard questions no matter what,*

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recognizing that only straight talk will get us anywhere.

But the freedom to speak one's mind on immigration is to be a right reserved for Dr. Steinlight, not for those who disagree with him. As he later declares,

> *The white "Christian" supremacists who have historically opposed either all immigration or all non-European immigration (Europeans being defined as Nordic or Anglo-Saxon), a position re-asserted by Peter Brimelow [author of* Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster*] must not be permitted to play a prominent role in the debate over the way America responds to unprece-dented demographic change*" (emphasis added).

Dr. Steinlight seeks not only to censor those views on immigration with which he disagrees but also to effectively disenfranchise the white, European, Christian majority from democratically determining immigration policy. He writes,

> *It was recently reported in the* Tennessean *that Buchanan's Reform Party has, unsurprisingly enough, made all-out anti-immigration a central plank of its platform, calling for a 10-year moratorium on all immigration. It must be admitted that this attitude clearly resonates with a majority of Americans. Every time representative samples of Americans are presented this option on opinion surveys of all sorts they support it, though usually it is couched in the context of a five-year moratorium.*

Since Dr. Steinlight opposes a moratorium on immigration, his response reveals his idea of "our constitutional principles." He writes,

> *We are not advocating surrender to the thoughtless mob, but we are advocating the design of policy closer to where the American people actually are with regard to the issue, at the same time that we morally educate them to extend the parameters of their sense of community* (emphasis added).

As the essay makes clear, the author is not interested in reforming immigration policy to reflect the national interest but only in fine-tuning the existing system for the exclusive benefit of the Jewish community.

> *It is...in our own best interest to continue to support generous immigration. The day may come when...Jews will once again need a safe haven in the United States. The Jewish community requires this fail-safe...the question is whether it should be open-ended or not.*

Steinlight's criticism of "open-ended" immigration is enlightening. He writes,

> *We cannot consider the inevitable consequences of current trends – not the least among them diminished Jewish political power – with detachment.* [emphasis in the original] *...[T]he American Jewish community is arguably enjoying the high noon of its political power and influence, a high noon inevitably followed by a slow western decline. ...Jewish legislative representation may have already peaked [italics in the original]. It is unlikely we will ever see many more U.S. Senates with 10 Jewish members. And although had Al Gore been allowed by the Supreme Court to assume office, a Jew would have been one heartbeat away from the presidency, it may be we'll never get that close again.*

And he rhetorically asks,

> *Is the emerging new multicultural American nation good for the Jews?...[W]ill Jewish sensitivities continue to enjoy extraordinary high levels of deference and will Jewish interests continue to receive special protection?...[H]ow long do we actually believe that nearly 80 percent of the entire foreign aid budget of the United States will go to Israel?*

For Dr. Steinlight, immigration is to be supported or opposed depending upon whether it is "good for the Jews." If immigration is bad for the majority population but good for the Jews, it should be supported. Conversely, if immigration is good for the majority population but bad for the Jews, it should be opposed.

For example, one result of current immigration policy has been to import massive numbers of Mexican and Muslim immigrants. With many, if not most, of both groups unassimilating and/or unassimilable – the former used by the Mexican government to promote its dream of a "reconquista" of the United States southwest, the latter used to advance the agendas of overseas Islamic fundamentalists – large scale immigration of Mexicans and Muslims raises legitimate questions about American national security, political stability, and social cohesion.

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But Steinlight is concerned only with the adverse impact that such Mexican and Muslim immigration has on Jewish interests and Jewish political power. He laments, "Once Jewish 'safe seats' in Congress are now held by Latino representatives" and that Latinos "have no historical experience of the Holocaust or knowledge of the persecution of Jews over the ages and see Jews only as the most privileged and powerful of white Americans." He fears that "it is only a matter of time before the electoral power of Latinos, as well as that of others, overwhelms us."

"But Steinlight is concerned only with the adverse impact that such Mexican and Muslim immigration has on Jewish interests and Jewish political power."

Those "others" include Muslims. He writes, "[T]he rising Muslim population already represents a serious threat to the interests of the American Jewish community, and the danger will only increase with time." There is a threat to continued "American support for Israel" since " at some point in the next 20 years Muslims will outnumber Jews" and since "Muslims with an 'Islamic agenda' are [already] growing active politically through a widespread network of national organizations." And there is a threat to Jewish status. Dr. Steinlight rhetorically asks, "Will our status suffer when the Judeo-Christian cultural construct yields, first to a Judeo-Christian-Muslim one, and then to an even more expansive sense of national religious identity?" Steinlight boasts:

> *Unless and until the triumph of campaign finance reform is complete, an extremely unlikely scenario, the great material wealth of the Jewish community will continue to give it significant advantages. We will continue to court and be courted by key figures in Congress. That power is exerted within the political system from the local to national levels through soft money...*
>
> But he laments the fact that this won't last.
>
> *For perhaps, another generation, an optimistic forecast, the Jewish community is thus in a position where it will be able to divide and conquer and enter into selective coalitions that support our agendas.*

As long as the current immigration policy adversely affected the demographic, cultural, and social positions of white, Christian Americans, Dr. Steinlight supported it. Now that the same policy is having an adverse impact on "Jewish interests" he opposes it. The same intellectual dishonesty was on display during the panel discussion at the CUNY Graduate Center on November 14, 2001.

Sadly, Steinlight's contention that Jewish organizations operate to maximize Jewish political power and advance Jewish agendas and have actively supported changes in immigration policy detrimental to the majority population because it promotes Jewish interests was not denied by either Professor Kasinitz or Professor Siegel.

The professors did not repudiate Dr. Steinlight's implied premise that the white, European, Christian majority must be denied the right to determine immigration policy. Nor did Kasinitz or Siegel object to current immigration policy reducing that majority population to a demographic minority.

While both professors generally agreed with much of what Dr. Steinlight wrote, they frequently phrased their comments to address more than just "Jewish interests." For Professor Siegel, the serious failings of current immigration policy include the phenomenon of downward economic mobility, the divisiveness of multiculturalism, and the growth of Mexican separatism in the southwest. But he did not offer any clear proposals on what should be done. Professor Kasinitz, on the other hand, maintained there is no need to reduce annual numbers from the current nearly one million a year. The problems that exist (and he conceded there are serious problems) can be resolved by simply enforcing existing laws, rules, and regulations.

However, Professor Kasinitz did draw attention to one remarkable inconsistency in the essay. While Dr. Steinlight called for "promoting patriotic assimilation" among Third World immigrants, he lamented that "full-throttle assimilation into the American cultural landscape is vitiating whatever remains of our [Jewish] sense of identity." When asked by the professor to explain the contradiction, Steinlight ignored the question. This

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established his pattern for responding to all critical questions throughout the conference.

Amazingly, Steinlight's opening remarks consisted of a series of personal attacks on Peter Brimelow, nationally known expert on immigration and author of *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster*, who articulately defends the right of the white, European, Christian majority to set immigration policy. Unable to rebut Brimelow's arguments, Steinlight engaged in name-calling, describing the author of *Alien Nation* as objectionable and a racist promoting a "brutal ethnocentrism." While condemning his opponents as "xenophobes," and without appreciation for the irony, he disparaged then dismissed Brimelow as a "Brit," a foreigner. Actually Brimelow, who was born in the United Kingdom, is a U.S. citizen.

Throughout his presentation and during the question and answer period that followed, Steinlight made accusations without offering evidence to substantiate them. For instance, he claimed Pat Buchanan is an anti-Semite; but when challenged by a member of the audience, Lawrence Auster (author of *The Path to National Suicide: An Essay on Immigration and Multiculturalism*), to cite even one quotation to substantiate that charge, Steinlight could not.

Soon he became confused about his own position. First, he asserted people who share Brimelow's and Buchanan's belief in a historic American nation that is white, European, and Christian are evil. Later, he maintained such people are only intellectually dishonest because they will not admit that they are engaged in "identity politics." Pointing out this significant change in terminology, Auster asked Steinlight to explain which one it is. Are those people evil, or are they intellectually dishonest? Becoming flustered and belligerent, Dr. Steinlight refused to clarify his position and instead took the next question, which was on Islam.

Repeating a central theme of his essay, the author declared that America is a "propositional" country, not a historic nation. When challenged by another member of the audience, historian James Russell, author of *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation* (Oxford University Press, 1994), who maintained there is a historic white, European, Christian America, a visibly upset Dr. Steinlight retorted, "I don't know the 'America' you're talking about...You don't know what 'the founders' were thinking about."

At the beginning of the panel discussion, the moderator, Mark Krikorian, executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies which had published his essay, asked Dr. Steinlight: "[S]ince Jews can engage in 'identity politics' to advance Jewish interests can't white, Christian Americans also engage in 'identity politics' to advance their group interests?"

For one whose essay calls for asking "hard questions" and engaging in "straight talk," Steinlight would only mumble something about "not all identity politics [being] created equal." His Orwellian answer encapsulated a dangerous extremism that extends well beyond the subject of immigration.

Stephen Steinlight uses immigration "reform" as a pretext for advocating a censorship of the speech and writings of non-Jews and their effective disenfranchisement from the political arena. The America he envisions has more in common with "Oceania," the totalitarian nightmare of *1984* than with the Philadelphia Convention of 1787.

However, the lack of media coverage of the panel discussion, the critical comments from the audience, and the fact that the sponsor of the event, the Center for Immigration Studies, has not put an account of the proceedings on its webpage, suggests Steinlight has no supporters. His proposals, therefore, have no future.

But his essay does. As an insider's view of the motives and machinations of the pro-immigration Jewish lobby, it makes an important contribution to American history as well as to the debate over immigration. By acknowledging that Jewish organizations, such as the American Jewish Committee, promote immigration in order to advance Jewish interests and Jewish political power, "The Jewish Stake in America's Changing Demography" has broken a political taboo. It is now publicly stated that the pro-immigration Jewish lobby has an "ethnocentric" agenda. The valuable, if unintended, consequence of this is to permit a free and open debate on immigration reform that finally advances the national interest and not minority "identity politics." ■

NOTE

1. For extensive documentation of the disclaimers about the effect of the Immigration Act of 1965, see Joseph Fallon, "So Much for Promises (About the 1965 Immigration Act)" in *The Social Contract*, Volume IX, Number 3, Spring 1999, page 174.

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Collision Course

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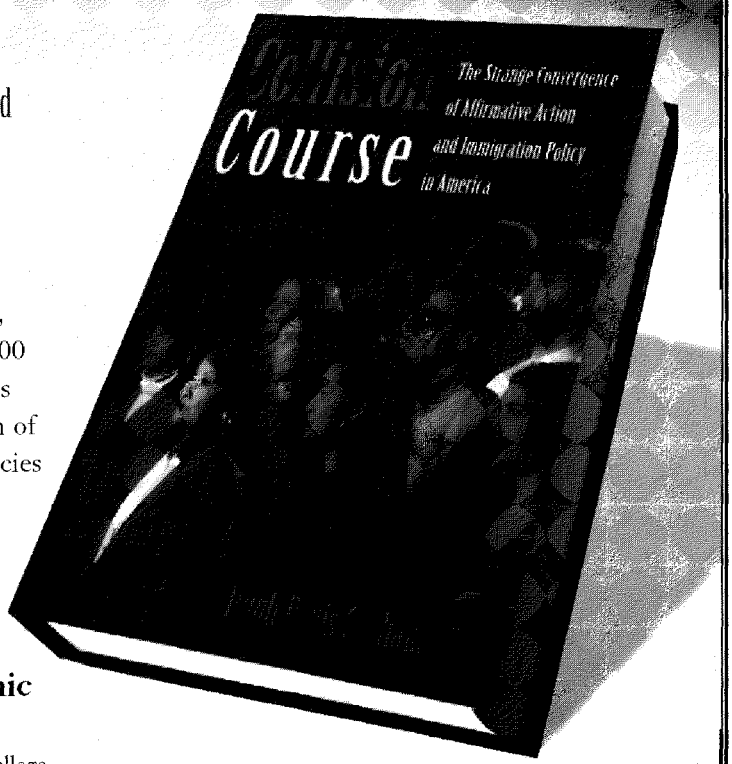

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